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TO THE READER

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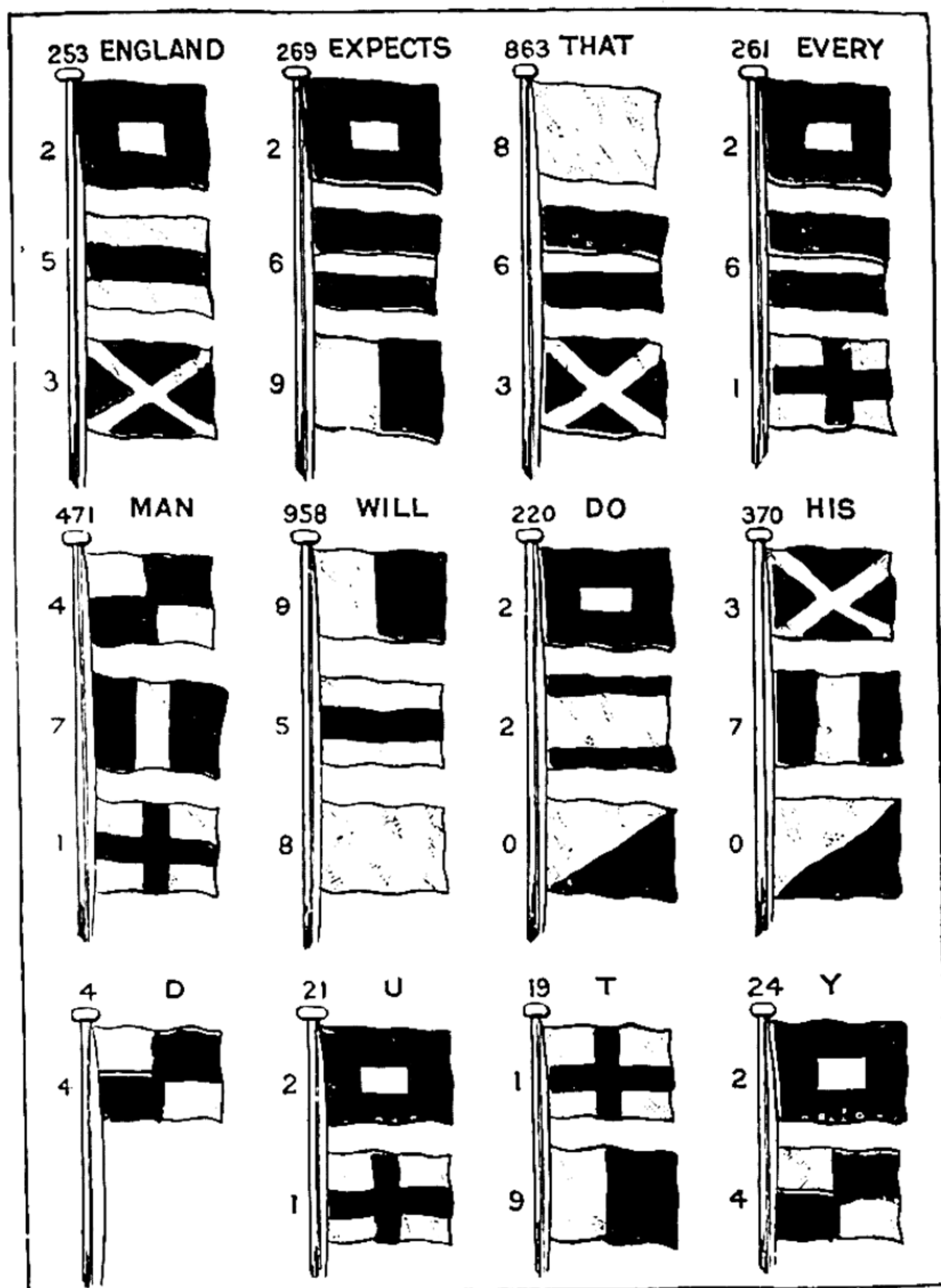
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CORRECT REPRESENTATION OF LORD NELSON'S HISTORIC
SIGNAL AT THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR,
OCTOBER 21, 1805.

(By kind permission of the Trustees of the United Services
Museum, Whitehall.)

THE HOUSE OF HISTORY

THE THIRD STOREY
LATER MODERN HISTORY

MURIEL MASEFIELD M.A. (OXON.)

THOMAS NELSON AND SONS LTD
LONDON EDINBURGH PARIS MELBOURNE
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THE HOUSE OF HISTORY

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THE BASEMENT

FROM THE EARLIEST MEN TO THE FALL OF ROME

FIRST STOREY

THE MIDDLE AGES—EARLY DAYS TO 1485

SECOND STOREY

EARLY MODERN HISTORY—FROM 1485 TO 1714

THIRD STOREY

LATER MODERN HISTORY

FOURTH STOREY

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Going to market in the
eighteenth century

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THE HOUSE OF HISTORY

THE THIRD STOREY—GEORGE I. TO GEORGE V.

THE EARLY GEORGES

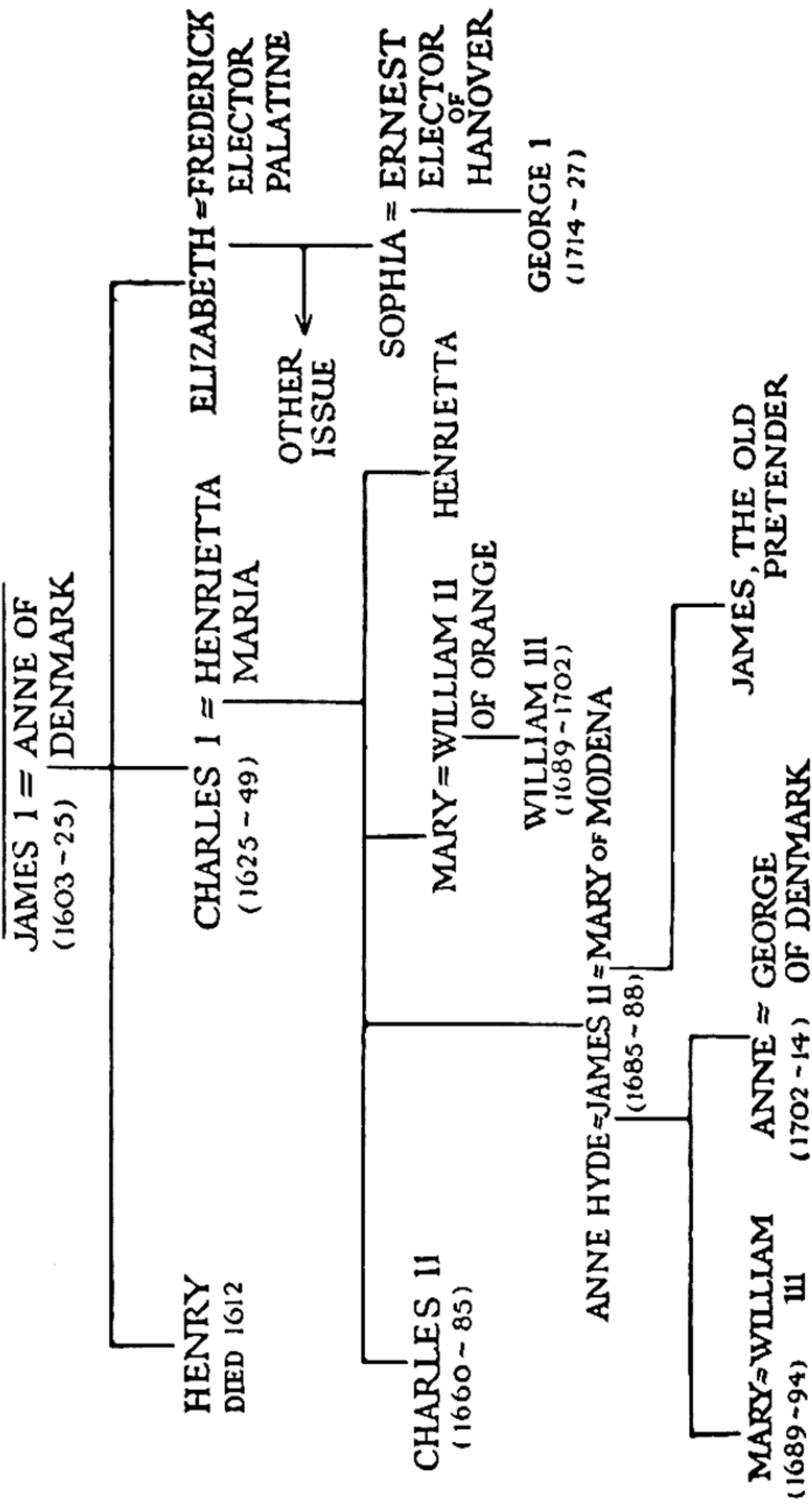
1. A Picture of England before the Georges

§ 1. The story of England in the Middle Ages was full of romantic and picturesque figures, such as pilgrims and crusaders, knights and ladies of chivalry, soldier kings and great barons like Simon de Montfort and Warwick the King-maker.

Under the Tudor kings English life was stirred by two great movements—the Revival of Learning and the Reformation; and Queen Elizabeth's time was made rich by the poetry of Spenser and the plays of Shakespeare, while Sidney and Raleigh graced her court. To Elizabeth's reign, too, belong such heroes of adventure and discovery as Drake and Hawkins, Gilbert and Grenville, and all the brave captains and tough old "sea-dogs" who sailed to the Spanish Main and fought against the Great Armada.

The times of the Stuart kings were still picturesque. The kings and cavaliers, with their rich dress and long curls, and their high belief in the king's "divine right" to

*Genealogical table of the House of Stuart, illustrating the
Hanoverian Succession.*



rule people and country, remind us of the old kings and courtiers of fairy tales. Some of the Puritans were not unlike stern knights of old who had vowed to give their lives to right their country's wrongs.

So far, history itself has seemed very like a play or a film-story, with kings and great men as its heroes ; but after the last Stuart king has fled from England (1688) there is a change to be noticed. Henceforth kings and heroes do not always fill the chief place on the stage (or screen), because there is a new leading actor in the story—namely, Parliament.

All through the struggle with the Stuart kings Parliament had been growing stronger, although under Cromwell's rule it was rather overshadowed by the army. Charles II. could not have kept his throne without the support of Parliament ; when James II. tried to rule without Parliament he soon had to fly from the country. The days when one powerful man could be called the King-maker were long past, but the Parliament which called William III. and Mary to be King and Queen of England might well have been called the King-maker Parliament.

The year 1688, which saw the struggle between kings and Parliament end in Parliament's triumph, is a good one in which to take a picture of England. By that date the country had recovered from the disturbances of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration ; and the Protestant religion, which had been threatened more than once since the Reformation, was firmly established ; but there were not yet any signs of the greater changes which were to come in the eighteenth century.

§ 2. It has been said* that if the England from which James II. fled could be set before us now, by some magic, we should not know our own fields or be able to find villages we have grown up in, and town boys and girls would not know the streets down which they have walked a hundred

* Macaulay's *History of England*.



ENGLAND

subsequent to the
INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION
1901

Scale of Miles

0 20 40 60 80

Population to the Square Mile

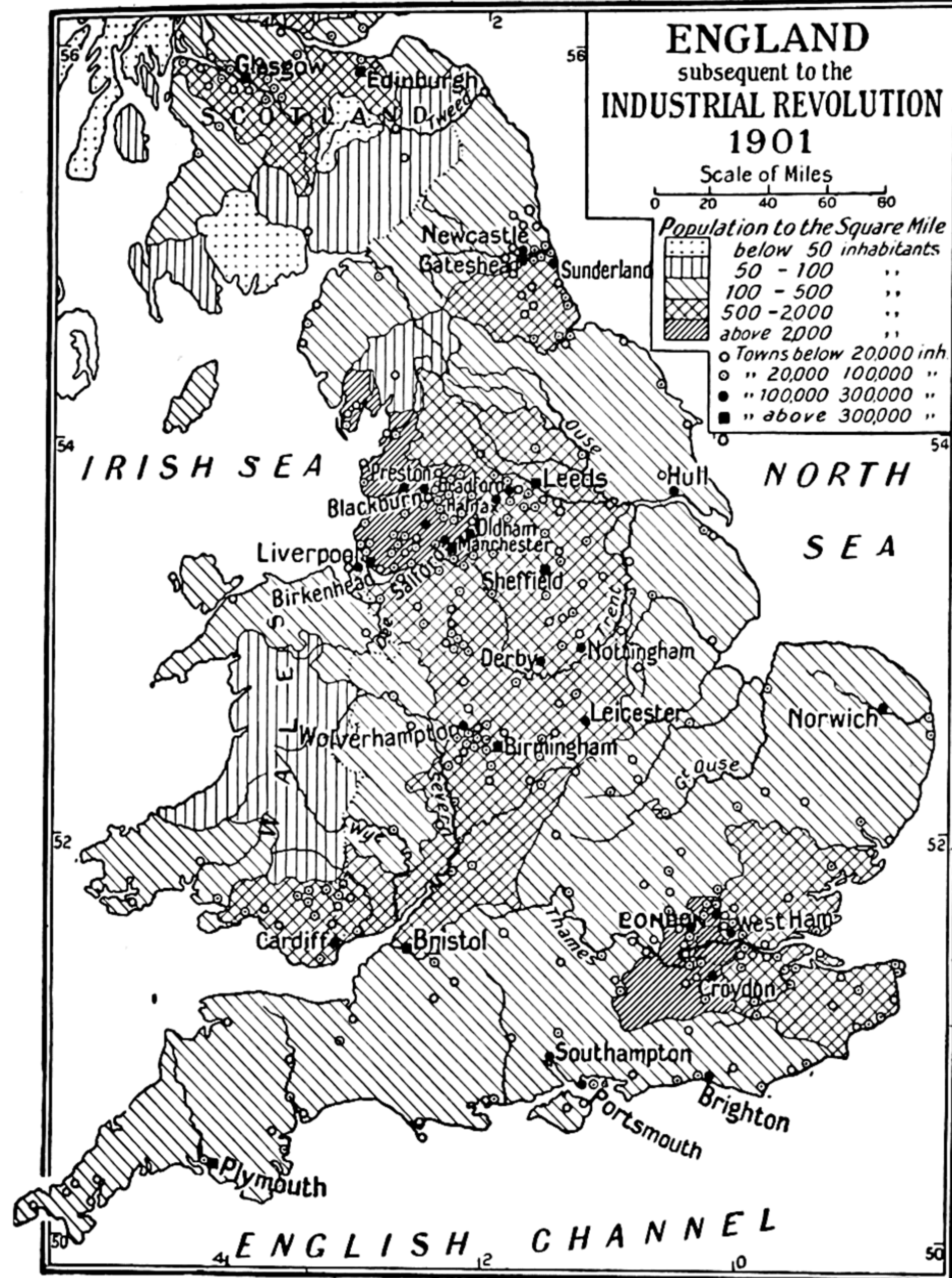
	below 50 inhabitants
	50 - 100 "
	100 - 500 "
	500 - 2000 "
	above 2000 "

○ Towns below 20,000 inh.

○ " 20,000 100,000 "

● " 100,000 300,000 "

■ " above 300,000 "



times. Just a few great features of the land we should be able to pick out at once, such as Snowdon, Windermere, the Cheddar Cliffs, and Beachy Head; and there would be cathedrals, churches, and castles which date from the time of the Normans and the Wars of the Roses. But in many places where we now find fields of corn and pasture, with neat, straight hedges round them, we should find, in 1688, miles of wild moor, covered with furze, or undrained swamps where only wild duck lived.

We should look in vain for the great manufacturing towns, such as Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and those of the Potteries. These places were then only small towns or large villages, and the Potteries were little more than a group of huts in a muddy waste.

A map of present-day England will illustrate some of these changes. If a pencil is laid across it from the mouth of the Humber to the mouth of the Severn, most of the biggest towns of to-day will be north of it. If population is marked on the map, the darkest patches, which mean the most crowded parts of the country, will also be north of the pencil, round the coal mines and iron foundries.

South of the pencil the counties are not nearly so crowded with names of towns, and not many of the big towns are factory centres like those of the north. There are the university towns of Oxford and Cambridge, and the old cathedral cities such as Canterbury, Winchester, Wells, and Exeter—all famous in the Middle Ages—and the towns which have grown up because people visit them for health or holidays, such as Bath, Cheltenham, and Brighton. Of course there are important seaports—like Portsmouth, Southampton, Dover, and Plymouth; and London is not only a great port and the capital city, but has also many factories within or near its ever-expanding borders.

This was not so in 1688. Most people then lived south of that line from Humber to Severn, and the old woollen industry, which was England's great pride, was carried on amongst the Cotswold Hills in Gloucestershire, in Wiltshire, Somerset, and Devon, and in Norfolk. After London,



The Church of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.

the two biggest towns in the kingdom were Bristol and Norwich.

Here is a description of Bristol just before James II.'s reign :

" In Bristol a man might look round him and see nothing but houses. . . . In no other place, except London, did the buildings completely shut out the woods and fields." The streets were " a labyrinth of narrow lanes," out of which

a few beautiful churches soared up towards the sky. "If a coach or a cart entered those alleys, there was danger that it would be wedged between the houses, and danger also that it would break the cellars. Goods were therefore conveyed about the town in trucks drawn by dogs; and the richest inhabitants showed their wealth, not by riding in gilded carriages, but by walking the streets with trains of servants in rich liveries, and by keeping tables loaded with good cheer."

The city of Bristol was famed for its hospitality, and the master sugar-refiners especially gave fine feasts, with a rich, sweet drink of sugar and Spanish wine prepared in a furnace. These men grew rich on trade, and almost every shopkeeper sent some of his goods to our colonies in North America and the West Indies.

Meanwhile the north of England, beyond the Humber, was for the most part bare and deserted. In the south there was more sun and shelter, and the land was better for crops and beasts. Even to-day Southdown sheep make the best mutton, and the chief counties for farming are all south of the Humber to Severn line. In those days farming and wool provided the greater part of the men and women* of England with their work, and so population was thickest in the south.

Coal-mining and blasting had scarcely begun. There were no engines or railways that must be made of iron, ships were still built of wood, and wood and furze were burned in the home fireplaces.

Another reason why people hesitated to move northward was the fighting and plundering which was still carried on between the Scots and English borderers. Bands of lawless men, known as moss-troopers, used to live on the moors, and amongst the bogs and hills of which they alone knew the secret paths, and they would swoop down to rob houses and carry off cattle. Even after Scotland and England

* Young unmarried women were called *spinsters*, because they earned their living by working hand spinning-wheels in their own homes.

became one country (in 1707), Northumberland and Cumberland were still dangerous counties to live in. Many families kept bloodhounds to track down robbers, and there are still to be seen in Northumberland some fortified vicarages, with large square towers like castle keeps, into which the villagers could come for refuge, driving their cattle before them, if moss-troopers were reported to be riding that way. Stones were kept ready to throw down on attackers, and cauldrons of water with fires laid under them.

The judges who rode from Newcastle to Carlisle to hold trials had to be escorted by soldiers, and carry their food with them. The north country, in fact, was much the same as it had been when the fighting Percies and Black Douglasses fought on the Border, and the ballad of Chevy Chase was written.

The story of the last great fighting adventure of the troublous north, when the Highlanders swept down upon England under Bonnie Prince Charlie, has still to be told (see Chapter 7).

§ 3. In the eighteenth century, however, the British Empire was developed, and the story of British adventure is shifted overseas to Canada, India, and the South Seas.

At home, the wonder-tales are those of the workmen who struggled to master machinery, water, and steam, until the spinning-wheels and hand-looms of the kitchens gave place to the big humming machines which could only be housed and worked in big humming mills. In fact, the eighteenth century was to change England from a country which could be described as "a granary and a sheepfold" into the acknowledged "workshop of the world."

This book will tell the story of these great changes.

A PICTURE OF ENGLAND DURING THE EARLY GEORGES

2. Defoe describes the Great Days of Wool

George I. (Hanoverian), 1714-27

§ 1. When Queen Anne died, leaving no child to succeed her, England had to call in a king from abroad once more.



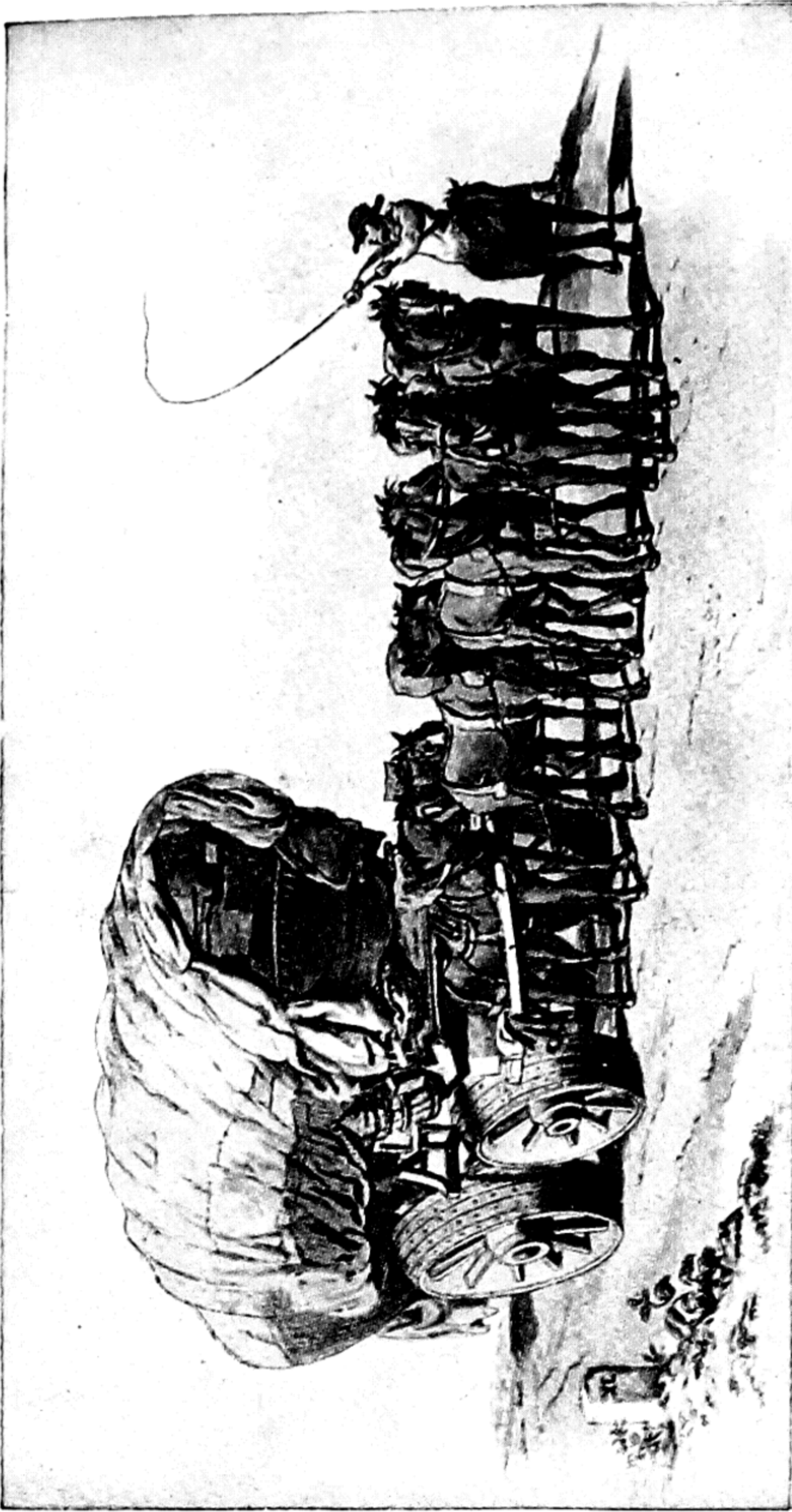
George I.

Like William III., George I. was related to the Stuart kings, as his grandmother was a daughter of James I.; his mother was the sister of the Prince Rupert who had helped Charles I. in the Civil War.

George had been brought up as a German prince, and could not even speak English, and so English people could not feel affection or loyalty to him for his own sake. In accepting him, men were loyal to Parliament and the Protestant religion, for Parliament had made him heir to the

throne by the Act of Settlement (1701). He did not understand English affairs well enough to take much part in the government of the country, and this left Parliament all the more free and powerful.

The reign of George I. was peaceful and quiet; the



A BROAD-WHEELED WAGON OF THE PERIOD.

(W. H. Pyne: "The Costume of Great Britain," 1808.)

"A common stage wagon with roller wheels, a late invention, which entitles the proprietors to certain privileges, as these wheels are supposed to render considerable benefit to the roads, by equalizing the ruts, etc. . . . No country but England exhibits such ponderous machines drawn by horses; neither do any other people devote equal attention to the breed of cattle for this purpose. A broad-wheeled wagon, upon a fine road, with eight or ten horses bearing an equal weight in the draught, is an object that excites no inconsiderable degree of admiration."

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struggle with the restless and ambitious Louis XIV. was over, and England and France had not yet begun to fight for empire in Canada and India. At home, daily life in town and country was much the same as it had been for several hundred years, and the woollen industry, carried on in farms and cottages all over the country, was still the mainstay of the English people.

The horse was the chief means of travelling or moving goods from place to place; each country town was the little capital for villages for some miles round it, and the roads were so bad that few people tried to go far from home. Men lived chiefly by corn and sheep, and it has been said that England from the Middle Ages to the middle of the eighteenth century might be described as a granary and a sheepfold.

There is an interesting account of the woollen trade about 1724, written by Daniel Defoe, who travelled through the country and described all that he saw.

Defoe's life covered a very stirring part of English history, but he is now remembered chiefly as the author of *Robinson Crusoe*. He was born just after the Restoration, and played an adventurous part in the stormy years of James II.'s reign and the Revolution of 1688, and in the reigns of William III., Anne, and the first two Georges. His father, who was a butcher in Cripplegate (London), was called Foe, and for a long time Daniel signed his name "D. Foe"; then he changed it to Daniel Defoe, and so he has been known ever since.

(3,564)



Daniel Defoe.

Amongst his many adventures Defoe took part in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion against James II., but was clever enough to save himself from falling into the hands of Judge Jeffreys. He found favour with William III. by his political writings; but these brought him into trouble in the reign of Anne, and he had to stand in the pillory for three days. Instead of having bad eggs and rubbish thrown at him, he was surrounded by admirers, who drank his health beside the pillory, and threw flowers at him.

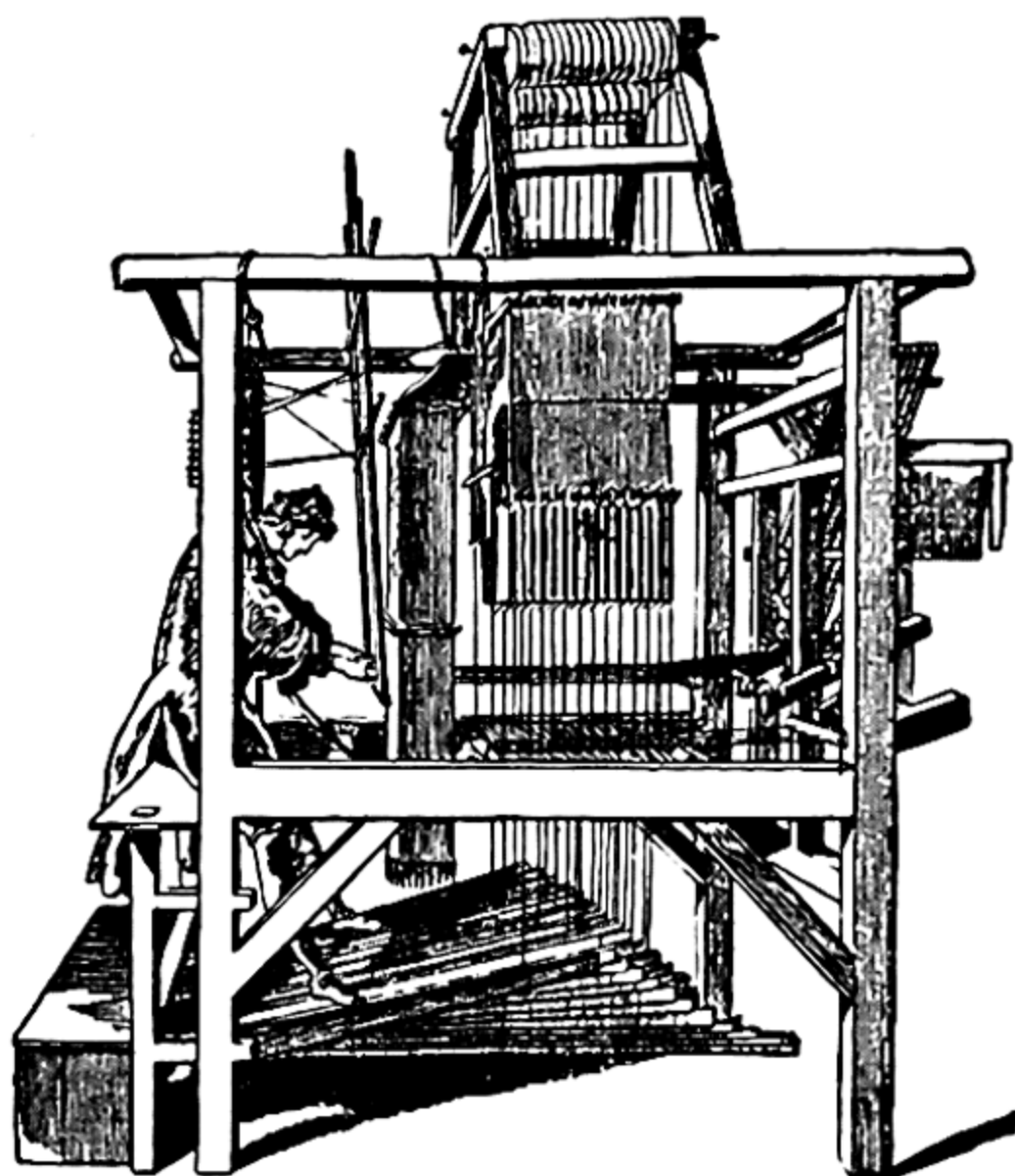
Later he had other adventures in the secret service which was on guard against Jacobite plots. He was nearly sixty when he wrote *Robinson Crusoe*, but before that time he had seen so much of the country and its life that he could give a clear picture of England under George I.

§ 2. The first thing that struck Defoe in his travels was the number of people, horses, carts, and wagons which were busily employed in the woollen trade. As soon as the wool was sheared from the sheep's back its travels began. A great deal of it was carried by pack-horses to one of the big yearly fairs to be sold. More was sold at Stourbridge Fair (held near Cambridge) than at any other, and the roads to Stourbridge were almost blocked by travellers on horseback and on foot. At the fairs the wool was often bought by merchants called wool-staplers or clothiers, and they sent it off again to the houses of wool-combers to be combed. From thence it journeyed back once more to the clothier's to be carded, and then it went off again to cottages and farms to be spun and woven.

Defoe tells us that the weavers of Norwich and of Spitalfields (London) kept spinners busy preparing their work for them all over the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, Cambridge, Bedford, and Hertford, and even sent a great quantity a hundred and fifty miles north, as far as Westmorland, to be spun. A boy living at that time would have been amazed if he had been told how many miles the wool of which his jacket was made had ridden on horseback!

It is not surprising to find Norwich a centre of the wool

trade, because clever Flemings (who had been exiled from their own country in the sixteenth century) had crossed to Norfolk and taught the people there to make finer cloth than the English broadcloth and kersies. The beautiful Cloth Hall at Ypres, which was so nearly destroyed in the Great War, is a memorial of the time when wool was the glory of Flanders. The Flemish and Dutch were also good



A hand weaver at his loom.

customers for English wool and woollens, which could easily be shipped from Norfolk and Suffolk.

Defoe says that the people of Norwich were so busy that on week days it seemed like a city without people, but on Sundays and holidays the streets were so full that he wondered where they could all find room to live. This was because they spent the working-days "in their garrets at their looms, and in their combing-shops, as they call them, twisting-mills, and other workhouses."

Yarmouth he found even busier, for there they shipped

both herrings and woollen stuffs to Genoa, Naples, Venice, Spain, Portugal, and Holland. They also traded with Norway and the Baltic coasts, bringing back timber, oars, pitch, hemp, flax, and sailcloth, which they used for shipbuilding.

Essex, too, was busy with the wool trade, but not quite so much so as the counties of the west—Devon, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Somerset. In these counties, Defoe says, the multitude of sheep could scarcely be counted, and the people of Dorchester (in Dorset) told him that there were always six hundred thousand sheep feeding within six miles of that one town.

As Defoe entered Honiton he very much admired its streets paved with small pebbles, with channels down each side, so that a tiny stream of clear water ran past all the houses, with a small square dipping-place at every door. Here, he said, he saw the first of the great serge manufacture of Devon, a trade which made the county one of the largest and most populous in England, so full of great towns, and the towns so full of people, that not only was it unequalled in England, but also in Europe.

We can still find memorials of the great days of wool in the west country, when Taunton, Devizes, Tiverton, Bradford-on-Avon, Dorchester, and Cirencester were such great and busy towns. There still stand some picturesque little cloth-markets, with wooden roofs and open sides, such as those at Taunton and Dunster. In Bradford-on-Avon it is easy to see how much bigger and busier the town must once have been.

In the north there was not much sheep-rearing, but Defoe found that the making up of wool was carried on busily in prosperous houses round Halifax and Leeds. He gives a good description of these home factories near Halifax which came before the days of mills:

“There was hardly a house standing out of speaking distance from another. . . . We could see at every house a tenter,* and on almost every tenter a piece of cloth, or

* Frame for stretching cloth.

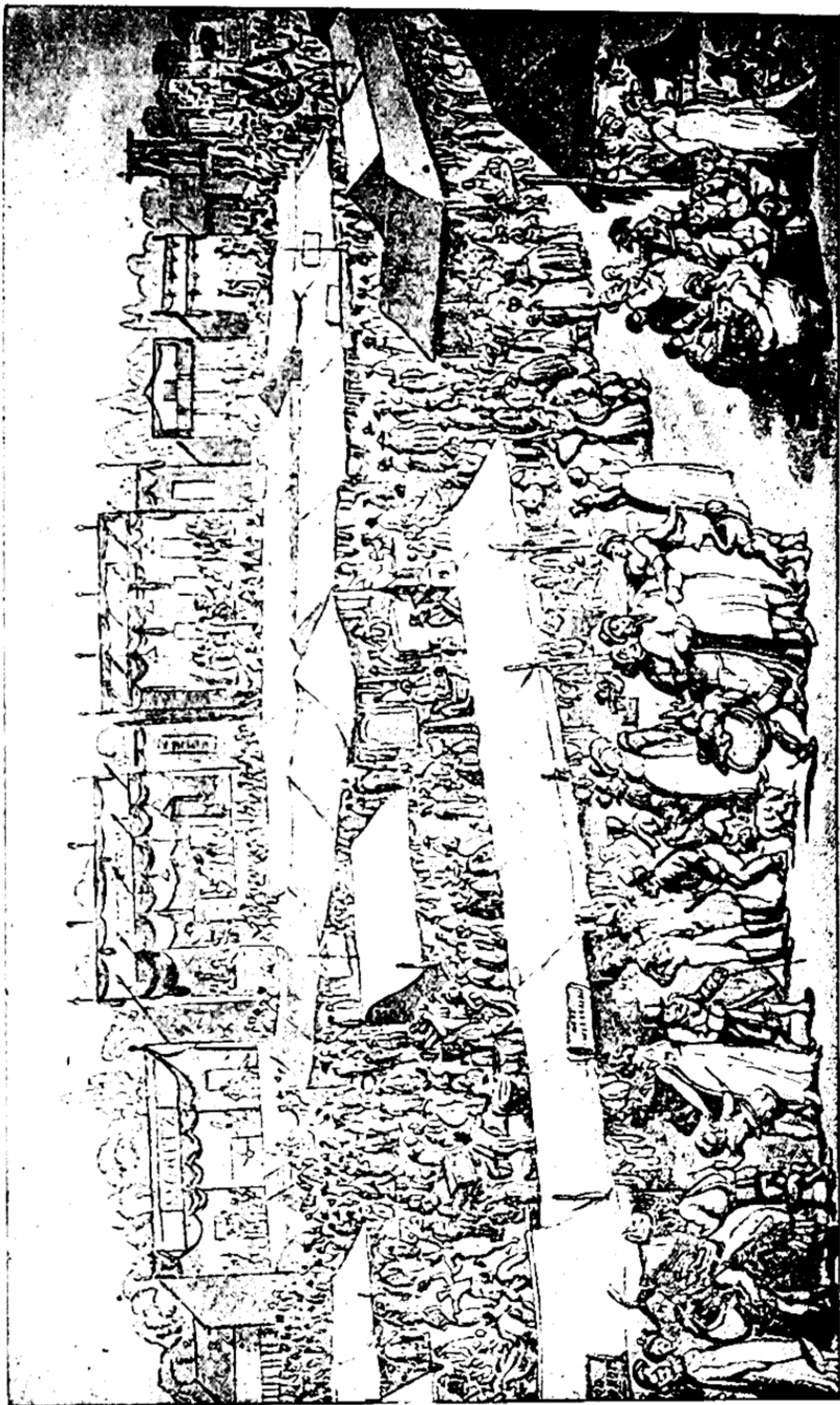
kersie, or shalloon. . . . At every considerable house was a manufactory. Every clothier keeps one horse, at least, to carry his manufactures to the market ; and every one, generally, keeps a cow or two, or more, for his family. By this means the small pieces of enclosed land about each house are occupied, for they scarce sow corn enough to feed their poultry. The houses are full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the looms, others dressing the cloths ; the women and children carding and spinning, being all employed from the youngest to the oldest, and not a beggar to be seen, or an idle person."

§ 3. We can picture this busy life, in which even the children had their own work to do. There were few schools for children then, and Defoe tells us that there was not a child over four years old that did not earn its bread by the work of its own hands !

In the southern counties the men were in the fields a great part of their time, tending crops and beasts for the squire and for themselves, and cutting wood or gathering furze on the commons for firing and bedding. The corn had to be carried to the village mill to be ground into flour, and leather had to be tanned at home.

Meanwhile women and children kept spinning-wheels and hand-looms busy, even if they did no more than make rough cloth to dress the family. In the winter, when they could not work so long on the land, farmers and their families and servants made tools and harness, fitted wooden handles to forks and scythes, and made teeth of ash or willow, hardened in the fire, for rakes and harrows. There were also many things to make and mend for the home, such as leather jugs, horn mugs, wooden spoons and bowls, baskets and rushlights (rushes dipped in fat, which were used as candles).

There were some holidays in this busy life. On market days well-to-do villagers made their way on horseback, often with wife or child riding behind, holding round the father's waist, to sell and buy at the town which was the



Brook Green Fair, about the year 1800.

(Drawing by Thomas Rowlandson. From the original in the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

centre of the district, and probably the only town they knew.

Then there were the great yearly fairs at big towns, where rich and poor alike gathered to buy goods which they never saw at other times, and to enjoy the merry-making.

Defoe visited the great fair at Stourbridge, where he said the rows of tents and booths were like streets of shops. He heard that a thousand horse-packs of wool were brought from Yorkshire and Lancashire, and iron and brass from Birmingham, edged tools from Sheffield, glass and stockings from Nottingham and Leicester, and that also goldsmiths and toy-merchants and milliners from London set up their booths. In the country for miles round Stourbridge even barns and stables were turned into inns for visitors to the fair: fifty coaches would come from London in one day, and boats were busy bringing purchasers and merry-makers from Cambridge by river.

At the fair merchants met their travelling buyers and salesmen and took their accounts, and also placed orders; sometimes fifty or sixty thousand pounds worth of wool was sold. There was also plenty of amusement—puppet shows, rope-dancers, and plays acted in the streets, and on the last day a horse fair and races for prizes, both on horseback and foot.

So the busy children who earned their bread at five years old had something to look forward to, and perhaps after a long day in these exciting streets or booths, and a meal at a coffee-house in a tent, the lucky ones would have a new toy to carry home, which would make the long hours of helping their mothers to comb, spin, and weave the wool pass more quickly.

3. The Scotland of Rob Roy : " The 'Fifteen ' " (1715)

§ 1. In 1707 England and Scotland had become one kingdom, by the Act of Union, and so George I. ruled over both countries with a single Parliament.

In the Lowlands of Scotland men understood the blessings of law and order, such as parliamentary government gave to England, and they thought it wise to support George I., the king chosen by Parliament. There were, however, many Scotsmen who had never liked the union with England, and who did not wish to be ruled by a king from Hanover. Some of them shut themselves into their houses while the bells were ringing for King George I., and secretly drank the health of " The king over the water." The king over the water was James Stuart, son of James II., who was an exile in France.

In the Highlands, the mountainous districts of Scotland north of the Forth, the country people knew very little more of England than its name, and neither the Parliament in London nor the new Hanoverian king seemed to have much to do with them. They lived amongst mountains, where strangers could find no footpaths in what seemed to be a wilderness of heath and rocks, beset with streams, precipices, and patches of wild forest. It was not forty years since wolves had been hunted down there ; even to this day many Scottish moors and mountains are wild and deserted, and golden eagles nest among the steep crags.

The men who lived amongst these hills in 1714 knew practically no law and no loyalty except obedience to the head of their clan or family. A clan consisted of all the branches of a family bearing the same name. Amongst the most famous are the Stewarts, the Campbells, the MacDonalds, the Camerons, the Gordons. Each has a tartan of its own colours and pattern, of which their plaids (shawl-cloaks) and kilts are made. The chief was born to rule. He

was generally the eldest son of the last chief, but occasionally the clan would set the eldest son aside as unfit, and choose some man of the family who was better able to rule them with a strong hand, and make other clans afraid to molest them.

An example of the wild life of the Highlands at this time is to be found in the story of *Rob Roy*, so well told by Sir Walter Scott.

Rob Roy (or Red Robert) belonged to the clan of MacGregor, although he accepted the name and protection of the Campbells, to whom he was related. His young nephew was head of the clan, but Rob Roy became a great leader amongst them, because he had the great strength which the Highlanders admired above all else, and he was descended from a famous giant of the clan, known as the Great Mouse-coloured Man. Rob Roy was not very tall, but he had enormous, broad shoulders, legs strong and hairy like a bull's, and such long arms that he could tie the garters on his Highland stockings (two inches below the knee) without stooping. His home was amongst rocks and forest between Loch Katrine and Loch Lomond, and here he reared cattle in the hills and drove them down to the Lowland markets, where dealers from England came to buy.

The Highlanders used to set off in armed parties with their cattle, for fear some enemy clan or robber band should attack them on the way. The Lowlanders brought stout wooden cudgels to market, in case a brawl should arise with the hasty-tempered men from the hills, whose wild appearance, with shaggy hair, short swinging kilts of bright tartan, swords at their belts, and daggers in belt or stocking tops, often frightened the peaceable Lowland traders. When a quarrel arose, the Highlanders, who loved a good, even fight, would only use the flat of their claymores (swords) against the cudgels, and so, in the words of an old rhyme :

“With many a stiff thwack, and many a bang,
Hard crabtree and cold iron rang.”

Rob Roy was not always fair in his dealings over buying and selling, and he had to fly as an outlaw to save himself from a Lowland prison. He lived in the mountains very much as Robin Hood lived in Sherwood Forest in England in the Middle Ages. It was easy for him to keep out of reach of the law, and one of the great Scottish lords, the Duke of Argyle, who was a Campbell, allowed him to range his land unchecked. Amongst men who had no settled industries, and always loved a fight, it was useful to great chiefs to have men like Rob Roy ready to serve them in any quarrel or disturbance.

Men who wished to keep their cattle safe paid Rob Roy a regular tax to be free from his attacks. Like Robin Hood, he was kinder to the poor than to the rich, and not often really cruel. He had a particular hatred for the Duke of Montrose, a clan enemy. Once when the duke's factor (or man of business) had gone to a village to collect rents which were owing, Rob Roy boldly entered the room where the money was being received, and said he would collect it himself, as a return for damage the duke had done to him by making the Government send a party of soldiers to attack his house. He kept the factor imprisoned on an island in Loch Katrine, but let him go when he found he could not get a ransom for him.

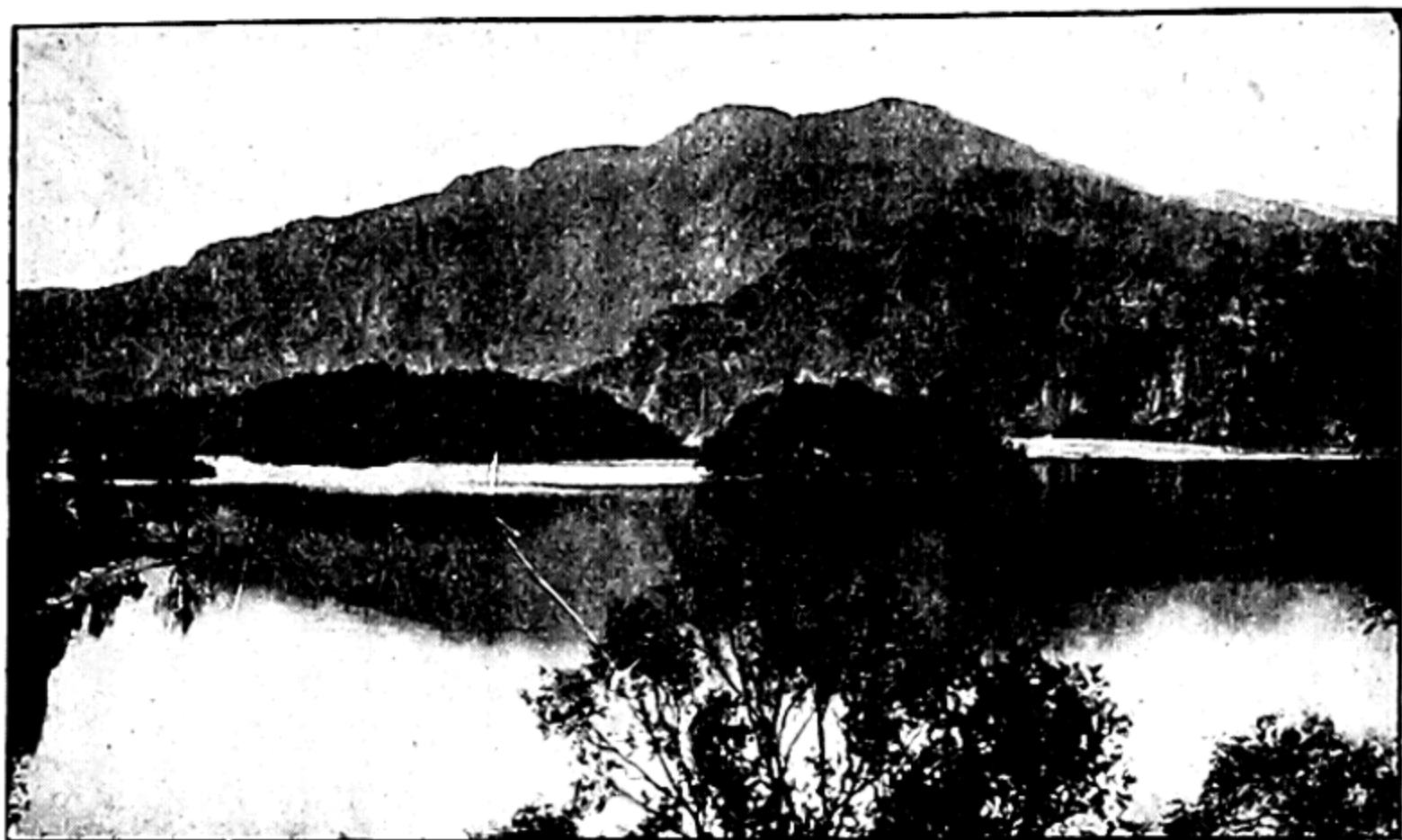
§ 2. Rob Roy was still living in this way in 1715. Wordsworth, in a poem about him, wrote—

“ And thus among these rocks he lived,
Through summer's heat and winter's snow :
The eagle, he was lord above,
And Rob was lord below.”

It is very clear that the Scottish clans gave their loyalty to their own chief first and foremost. They did understand, however, that the king was head of the nation, a chief of chiefs, and it seemed to them natural and right to obey or fight for a Stuart king. Stuart was a Scottish name, and Stuarts had been kings of Scotland long before they came

to the throne of England. Therefore English statesmen knew that if James Stuart tried to win back his kingdom he would land in Scotland, and attack England from there. So Parliament kept a stern eye on Scotland.

Nevertheless, on 6th September 1715, the Earl of Mar raised the standard of James VIII. of Scotland (as they called James II.'s son, later known in England as the Old



Loch Katrine.

Pretender *), and many chiefs swore to be loyal to the house of Stuart.

Mar was a weak and unsoldierly leader, and he wasted time doing nothing, although the only hope for the rebels was to strike quickly. The only person who made use of the delay was Rob Roy. He had joined Mar's army, and now he made several secret plundering raids, declaring to those he robbed that he was acting by the order of his commander, the Earl of Mar!

At last one party of the rebels crossed the river Forth by night in small boats, and marched south until they

* From the French word *prétendant*, which means claimant (to a throne).

joined the forces of the Lancashire Jacobites.* In the English towns people were afraid of the wild-looking Highlanders, and very few joined them. Before long they were surprised by King George's army at Preston, and gave themselves up.

Meanwhile Mar had met a small force under the Duke of Argyle, and a battle was fought at Sheriffmuir, which was not a victory for either side. At this battle Rob Roy is said to have held back with his own followers, waiting to see what chance of plunder there would be. When others urged him to charge and help to win the battle he answered: "If they canna do it without me, they canna do it with me." Perhaps he was unwilling to fight against Argyle, whose protection he had enjoyed for many years.

§ 3. After Sheriffmuir the disheartened Highlanders were beginning to slip off secretly and return to their mountain homes, when news came that James had landed in Scotland.

For a short time the hopes of the Highlanders were raised again, but they were bitterly disappointed when they found that James did not look like a king or a soldier. The clans soon began to desert the army again, and at last James and the Earl of Mar themselves slipped away to the coast, where they were taken on board a French ship which lay waiting for them, and sailed away to France.

So ended the Jacobite rebellion known as the 'Fifteen.

Parliament had triumphed, and the king of their choice was all the firmer on his throne. But Parliament was afraid to allow the people to elect a new House of Commons too soon after the rebellion. So the Septennial Act (1716) was passed, by which every Parliament was to sit for seven years (instead of three as before) unless the House of Commons itself asked the king to dissolve it. Parliament remained under this Act until 1911; since then the same Parliament has been allowed to sit for five years only.

* *Jacobites*, from Latin *Jacobus* (= James), and so an adherent of James II. and his heirs.

After the 'Fifteen Rob Roy escaped to his hills, and the wild and lawless state of the Highlands gave him a chance of making his living in a way which suited him well. Many Highlanders lived chiefly by plundering the cattle of other clans or of Lowlanders, and as there were neither soldiers nor judges in the mountains to catch and punish the thieves, farmers were ready to pay a regular sum of money to any man with a band of followers who would promise to protect their cattle for them. Rob Roy made this his business in life, and called himself a "Captain of the Watch."

As he knew most of the cattle thieves and all the good hiding-places (because he had once used them for stolen cattle himself!), he seemed to be very clever at getting cattle back. He would not allow his own men to demean themselves by driving cattle now; the farmers or their servants had to come with him to drive the beasts home when Rob had found them. Probably, like other Captains of the Watch, he arranged with thieves who were friends of his to carry off the cattle of farmers who did not offer to pay him every year for protection, and so they were obliged to send for Rob in the end.

Rob had several narrow escapes. Once the Duke of Montrose made him prisoner, but the soldier in charge of him let him slip from his horse in crossing a river, and Rob swam under water and got away. He lived to be a



Rob Roy Macgregor.

(From a picture by J. B. Macdonald, R.S.A., in the possession of R. P. Greg, Esq.)

very old man, and to see roads being made in the Highlands under a guard of soldiers. On his deathbed an old enemy visited him, and Rob is said to have asked for his plaid to be thrown over him and his claymore (sword), dirk (dagger), and pistols to be laid beside him, "for," he said, "it shall never be said that a foeman saw Rob Roy Macgregor defenceless and unarmed."

4. Walpole—Squire and Prime Minister

Walpole was Prime Minister, 1721-42

§ 1. George I.'s reign was not a time of struggles for freedom, or of conquest, or of colony founding, or any great changes in national life. Yet it was a very important reign in English history, because it was under George I. that the British Constitution (which means the laws and customs by which the government of the country is carried on) took the form which it has kept, with very few changes, to the present day.

Parliament had a great chance to take the lead in government, because the king did not often attend Cabinet Councils, and left the direction of affairs to his ministers.

When the sovereign had attended the Cabinet Councils himself there had not been any need for a *first* minister. Now there was no king present—one strong statesman took the lead. This was Robert Walpole, whom we may think of as the first of the Prime Ministers of England.

In George I.'s reign (and for long afterwards) a large number of the members of the House of Commons were *squires*, like Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley.*

They grew corn and reared sheep and cattle, and pheasants and partridges for shooting. They rented some of their land to farmers, and some were good landlords, like Sir Roger, but some were bad. Under a good landlord the rents were not too high and the cottages of the country

* See last chapter of *The House of History: the Second Storey*.

people were kept in order for them, and they were helped by the squire and his family when they were sick or in trouble ; but under the bad landlords the farmers found



Sir Robert Walpole.

(From the portrait by Kneller.)

it hard to pay their rent, and the cottages were tumble-down.

Sometimes the squire's horses and dogs had stables and kennels which were drier and warmer than the cottages,

and the pheasants fed by his gamekeepers never went hungry like the cottagers' children. If a man was caught poaching a pheasant or a hare he could be hanged for it.* Every man who had a little land of his own worth forty shillings a year had a vote for a member of Parliament, and most country men voted for the squire.

In those days, too, far more than half the people of England lived in country villages and worked on the land, so no wonder there were a great many squires in Parliament.

§ 2. Robert Walpole was a country squire, and when he was at home on his land in Norfolk his life was just like that of other squires—days filled up with hunting and shooting and looking after their land and the farms on it. They swore heartily when they were vexed, often laughed as heartily when they were pleased, and ate and drank heartily in the evening.

When Walpole was Prime Minister he always opened his Norfolk gamekeeper's letters before any of his business letters; even if there was one from the king, it had to wait. He also insisted on having his Saturdays free for hunting, and so the custom of a Saturday holiday for the House of Commons began. If Walpole could not get home, he hunted his beagles in Richmond Park.

The other squires in Parliament all trusted Walpole because he was one of themselves. Most of them disliked George I., and felt that he did not think their good English land any better than the soil of Hanover, and that he might do them some wrong if Walpole were not there to keep him in order.

Walpole himself was very friendly with the king; they sat over a bowl of punch together, talking to each other

* See Kingsley's poem, "The Bad Squire":

" You made him a poacher yourself, squire,
When you'd give neither work nor meat,
And your barley-fed hares robbed the garden
At cur starving children's feet."

in a schoolboy sort of Latin, as the king could not talk English, and Walpole could not speak either German or French.

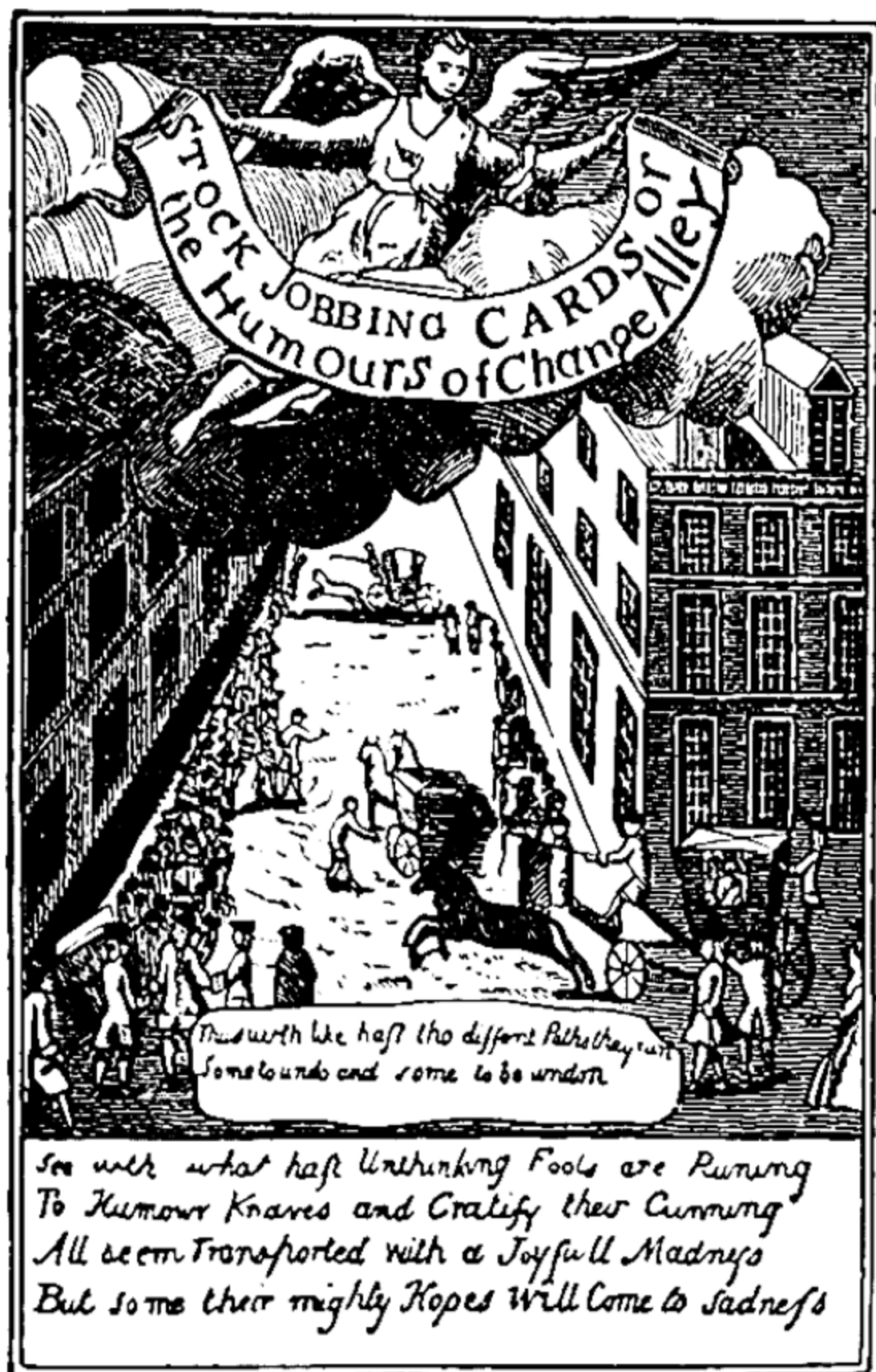
§ 3. Walpole's rise to power really came through his great talent for finance. He was said to be "the best master of figures of any man of his time." Another saying was that he could make gold out of stones.

He came to the fore when the country was in a panic after the collapse of a great scheme for making every one rich, which was afterwards known as the South Sea Bubble. The South Seas had always attracted Englishmen with their promise of rich adventure since the days of Queen Elizabeth, and now, although Spain was the leading Power in South America, stories began to spread of the trade and wealth which might be won there. By the Treaty of Utrecht Spain had bound Britain to trade with her South American colonies only by taking out negro slaves, except for one ship a year carrying British goods.

In spite of these limitations a South Sea Company was formed for trading, and its promises of high profits to every one who bought shares in it seem to have been believed without a moment's hesitation. It seemed as if the country was almost mad in its eagerness to buy South Sea shares; even statesmen were so confident of the riches to come that the South Sea Company was allowed to take over some Government funds. It became so fashionable to put money into companies which promised to double and treble it, that a great many mock companies were started. One was said to have the secret of making a wheel for perpetual motion, another for turning quicksilver into solid metal. One man advertised "a company for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is." He received a number of subscriptions, and then ran away with the money!

In spite of the story of the South Sea Bubble, such things still happen to-day; but at that time people were deceived even more easily. Soon one fraud after another

was found out, and at last the big bubble—the South Sea Company's scheme—was pricked, and it became clear that many who had bought South Sea shares would lose nearly all their money. The distress and panic all over the



A contemporary caricature on the South Sea Company, 1720.

country were intense. Statesmen who were accused of supporting the Company suffered terribly. One died of the shock, another minister committed suicide, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to the Tower.

In the midst of the panic it was remembered that

Walpole had advised the Government not to take part in the South Sea schemes. His talent for handling business and money affairs was already known, and the whole country looked to him to save them from ruin. Walpole was called back to power. He settled the debts of the Company by wise methods, dividing fairly all sums that could be raised, and taking the estates of the directors to help to pay off the debt.

§ 4. From this time, for the next twenty years (1721-42), Walpole was at the head of the Government, under the first two Georges. They were mainly years of peace and prosperity, chiefly owing to Walpole's wise measures. He freed the trade of the British colonies to some extent from those laws which prevented them from sending their goods to be sold in Europe; and he took off heavy taxes which prevented their sending goods to England itself. Consequently the American colonies sold far more timber, rice, and sugar, and the northern fisheries became more prosperous, with the result that the colonies became customers for more and more British goods, and so British trade increased also.

Walpole had a scheme for making taxation simpler and fairer, and he put it forward in his Excise Bill,* but it was not fully understood in the country, and there was a great outcry against it. When Walpole found that the Bill could not be forced on the country without rioting, he gave it up, declaring: "I will not be the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood."

After eighteen years of peace and prosperity Walpole was forced into a war with Spain. Trouble arose about the Treaty of Utrecht, by which England was bound to send only one ship a year to trade with Spain's South American colonies. In order to increase this trade smaller ships

* By this Bill certain goods were not to be taxed on coming into the country, but only when taken out of the warehouses and actually sold to merchants. This would have stopped much smuggling and helped colonial trade.

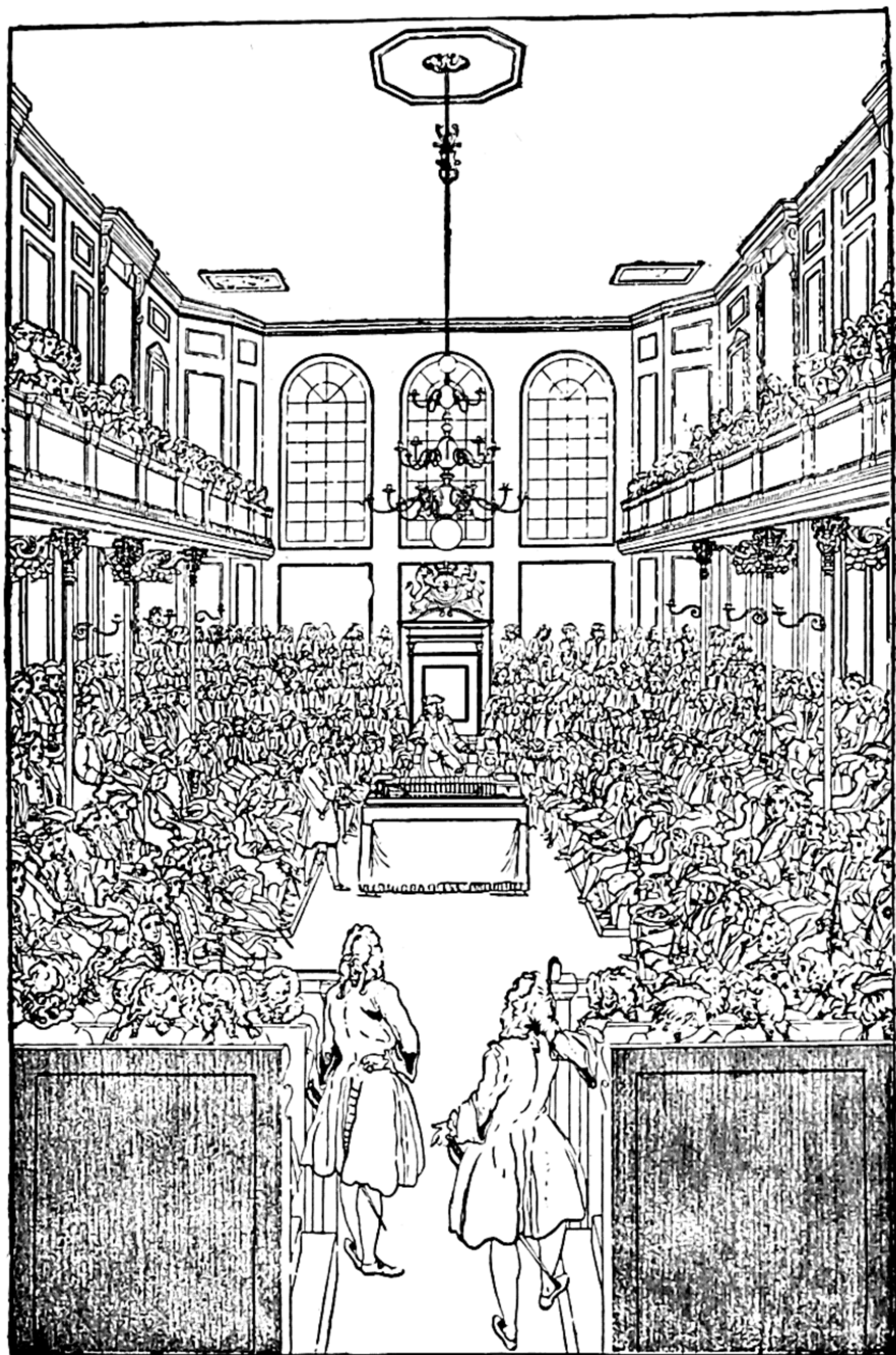
followed the one large vessel, and they drew alongside during the night and refilled it with fresh supplies of British goods. To prevent this, Spain claimed the right to stop British ships at sea and search them. England resented this hotly, especially as stories soon arose of Spanish violence and cruelties.

Walpole's enemies in Parliament wanted to bring him into disgrace for clinging to peace, and they made the most of these stories. A Captain Jenkins was summoned before Parliament to tell how the Spaniards had searched his ship, and, finding no smuggled goods, had savagely torn off his ear. When asked how he felt at this outrage, Captain Jenkins replied: "I commended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." Afterwards it was thought that Captain Jenkins' story was perhaps not true, but at the time it did just what Walpole's enemies hoped. The whole country demanded war, and he had to give way. Bonfires and peals of bells showed the country's approval, but Walpole said, "They may ring their bells now, but they will soon be wringing their hands."

Walpole's power was now broken, and he was not a good war minister, and so, in 1742, he resigned. His enemies then made Parliament hold an inquiry into his acts of bribery,* and his handling of public money. He was not found to have enriched himself wrongfully out of public money, and he lived to be respected once more; but his days of leading the House of Commons were over, and he went into the House of Lords as Earl of Orford.

Foremost amongst those who brought about Walpole's downfall was young William Pitt, whose name was soon to be known to many nations as England's great war minister.

* See next chapter.



The House of Commons in 1742

5. Walpole : the Government of England

In Parliament Walpole had carried on the bad habit, already begun, of bribing members—that is, he would promise a member some well-paid post or some honour, or even a sum of money, in return for his voting on the Prime Minister's side. He would also talk of “muzzling” those who were against him by taking posts from them, or otherwise making them afraid to offend him. This was a great pity, because it meant that, just when Parliament was becoming the real ruler of the country, members of the House of Commons might not be free or honest in their voting for and against Acts of Parliament.

Although Walpole did harm to Parliament in this way, he also left a good mark on the British Constitution, and fixed the method of government by Parliament, which has been followed ever since.

Before Walpole's time the ministers at the head of great departments of Government (such as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State, and the First Lord of the Admiralty) had been chosen from both parties, some Whig and some Tory. This made it very difficult for any council of ministers to agree. When Walpole became Prime Minister he would not have any ministers under his leadership who did not agree with him. Sometimes he used unfair means to drive them out, and he made many enemies, who at last raised a strong party against him in the House of Commons.

Yet Walpole's methods brought about a very sensible and practicable system of government. For it became the practice for each Prime Minister to choose for himself (with the king's consent) the other ministers who were to act with him. The little body of ministers so chosen would all be of the same party, and they met constantly to decide together what to put before Parliament, and how to carry out Acts already passed. They met in a small council-chamber, known as a cabinet, and so the Prime Minister

and his band of supporting ministers came to be called the Cabinet.

The Cabinet decides what Acts the House of Commons shall be asked to pass, and if the House votes against an Act put before it by the Cabinet, the Prime Minister generally resigns. This means that the king must either find a new Prime Minister who will choose a new Cabinet, or he must dissolve Parliament. When Parliament is dissolved there must be a general election, so that the people can elect a new House of Commons. Then the people can show by their votes whether they want a new Prime Minister and a new Cabinet or not.

In this way the British Constitution * gives to the House of Commons, which represents the people, the final choice as to which Party should govern, and whether any Act put forward by the Cabinet should become law or not. No other country at that time had a form of government which gave so much freedom and power to the representatives of the people. All that was needed to make the government of England really democratic (that is, carried on in accordance with the wishes of the greater part of the people in the country) was that more Englishmen should have the right to vote for members of Parliament. This reform did not come for another hundred years.

Walpole, the first Prime Minister, received No. 10 Downing Street, which has been the house of our Prime Ministers ever since, as a present from George II.

6. Wesley and the Church : the " Methodists "

John Wesley lived 1703-91

During the twenty years of peace under Walpole most of the country gentlemen and the leaders of society in London had given themselves up to sport, wine, cards, and

* That is, form of Government—the way in which the ruling of a State is organized.

other pleasures, and the merchants and shopkeepers to money-making; while the labourers found that it took all their time to earn their bread. Business and pleasure had left little time for thought or religion, and neither king nor Prime Minister set an example of earnestness.

At this time many rectors and vicars in the Church of England were appointed either for their politics, or because they were younger sons of lords and squires who had the



John Wesley.
(*J. Jackson, R.A.*)

right of naming the vicars for their own parishes. Many of these clergy lived much like other country gentlemen, and joined in hunting and other sports; sometimes a vicar had several parishes, and was scarcely known in one of them. The curates, who were paid by them to keep up a few services, were often so poor that they were as anxiously occupied as the labourers in keeping their families from want.

The religious bodies outside the Church of England suffered from the same loss of earnestness. It seemed as if, after their hard fight for the Protestant religion, the English people had used up all their devotion, and no longer

cared for the Church and services they had saved.

Yet, just at the time when Parliament was rousing from the comfortable, easy-going state in which Walpole had kept it, there was a revival in religion too. It was started by a little band of friends in Oxford, of whom John Wesley was the leader. Wesley was a young Church of England clergyman who was shocked at the lack of religion he saw on every side, and especially at the laziness and carelessness of the clergy.

He and his brother Charles formed a little club of young

Oxford men who lived by strict rules, fasting every Wednesday and Friday, taking part in Holy Communion every Sunday, visiting sick people and prisoners, teaching children, studying the Bible. They met every night to plan how the next day should be spent, and a duty was fixed for every hour. Other young men in Oxford teased them, and called them the Godly Club and Bible-moths, but one gave them the nickname of *Methodists*, and this became the honourable name of the new Society which they afterwards founded.

The "Methodists" began to stir people by their earnest preaching. One of them, George Whitefield, had a wonderful power of moving men and women, until they sobbed with shame for their sins, or sang aloud with joy as he spoke of salvation. Such scenes soon led to the prohibition of Methodist services in churches, and then both Whitefield and Wesley gathered congregations of hundreds, and then thousands, about them in churchyards and fields. Once Whitefield saw a crowd of twelve thousand people gathered on a common to see a criminal hung up in chains; he began to preach to them, and soon they turned from the wretched sight to listen eagerly to his sermon. Again he drew crowds away from public hangings, and even from plays at village fairs.

Wesley's followers carried the teaching of the Bible to wild and lonely parts of the country, to the slums of London, to the new towns which had grown up without any churches or chapels, to the Cornish mines, and many other places where men had scarcely heard the name of God for years. Wherever they went they created great excitement.

Sometimes the excitement was that of anger, and in the course of their travels they were ducked in ponds, pelted with mud and stones, and sometimes in danger of their lives. In the group of shabby huts, almost cut off from other places by want of roads, where the five great Pottery Towns now stand, the rough pottery-makers rolled Wesley in the mud.

But soon the "Methodists" became a great power in



Whitefield preaching in the open air at Leeds, 1749.
(From a print in the British Museum.)

the land, and the excitement at their meetings found better expression in the singing of the hymns which Charles Wesley (brother of John) wrote for them. It became necessary to organize them into regular bodies of worshippers. Wesley had hoped that they would remain a part of the Church of England, but at last he had to agree to the creation of Methodist ministers, and to a special form of Church government for his followers.

Wesley's long life (1703-91) nearly covered the eighteenth century, and before he died he saw how the revival of religion, which he began, was bearing fruit in many ways. The Church of England itself was stirred to new life ; men began to think more of their duty to the poor and ignorant, and the way was prepared for the movements which led to the end of Negro Slavery, to the founding of Sunday Schools, the improvement of prisons, and many other reforms.

7. The Scotland of " Bonnie Prince Charlie "

The 'Forty-Five (1745)

§ 1. Scotland had settled down under the Union (1707), and for many years English statesmen had felt satisfied and secure ; but the outbreak of war was the signal for disturbance at home as well as abroad. As soon as France joined England's enemies, the hopes of the exiled Stuart family revived, and James (the Old Pretender) asked for French help once more to regain his kingdom. A French fleet actually sailed to invade England, but was forced to put back by a great gale, and the attempt was given up.

In spite of this disappointment, in 1745 Prince Charles Edward, the son of the Old Pretender, set out to overthrow George II., with no support but his unshakable faith in the divine right of the Stuarts to reign splendidly in England and Scotland. He was determined to humble this upstart Parliament, and put its obedient Hanoverian king to flight.

The prince was just the hero to win Highland hearts. He was handsome, charming and princely in his manners, proud and active and brave, a man whom the Highlanders would think fit to be a chief of chiefs and to lead an army. But in 'Forty-five the temper of Scotland was very different from what it had been in 'Fifteen. Even those who would have liked to be loyal to the house of Stuart felt that it would now be madness to try to overthrow a firmly established government, in order to put upon the throne a Roman Catholic king, who might try to change the religion of his people, and who would certainly expect to reign without any checks or conditions.

The beginning of Prince Charles's adventure seemed dreary and hopeless. After narrow escapes from British warships, he and a few friends were landed secretly and hurriedly on a small wild island off the west coast of Scotland. Here he spent some weary days of fog and drizzle in a small hut full of peat smoke. When he went to the door from time to time, gasping for breath, the owner of the hut (who had no idea that his guest was the prince) exclaimed: "What a plague is the matter with that fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without doors?"

Messages were sent to the chiefs who had been faithful to the Stuarts in the past. Most of them were utterly dismayed at what seemed a mad adventure. The only two chiefs who obeyed the summons came to try to persuade him to go home and leave Scotland in peace. The prince's reply was: "I am come home."

He still trusted to the Stuarts' right in the sight of God, and to his own charm and courage. He made his way to the house of the loyal Clanranalds, who provided him with a bodyguard, and his confident persuasions soon broke down the fears and reluctance of many of the chiefs.

§ 2. From now onwards the prince's march was a romantic adventure scarcely to be believed. England was quite unprepared. As a member of Parliament protested,



The Jacobite march, from the landing at Moidart to the Battle of Culloden.

“How could it have been supposed that a few Scots Highlanders would be so mad as to take it into their heads that, without any foreign help, they could conquer the whole island of Great Britain?” The few Highland forts were feebly garrisoned by English soldiers, the army which was

sent under General Cope to check the rebels was no match for the Highlanders in rapid marching and knowledge of the country. The prince slipped past this army, and marched south, gathering followers as he passed on his way, a radiant figure in Scottish national dress, with rich additions of gold lace.

He entered Perth in triumph, and few guessed that a guinea was all the money then in his possession! In Perth he raised taxes in his father's name, and then, before Cope's shamefaced army could overtake him, he marched on Edinburgh. The defences of Edinburgh had been neglected for years; the Provost himself, when he inspected the wall, declared that "if a thousand men had a mind to get into this town he did not see how he could hinder them." A band of the prince's Highlanders arrived just as a coach was leaving the city, slipped past it inside the gate, took the places of the sentries, and opened the gate to the rest of the army the next morning.

In Edinburgh more followers joined the prince, but most of the leading Lowlanders held aloof in disapproval or prudence.

§ 3. Sir Walter Scott has given a most vivid impression of the prince's progress in *Waverley*. There we may see how he won over followers, especially amongst young men, and yet how, in their hearts, they expected tragedy to conclude their fine adventure. Scott describes how the clans left Edinburgh for the great march south. At a first glance they made a gay and brave show, with waving tartan cloaks, feathers in their caps, and banners bearing the mottoes of the clans, such as the proud "Gainsay who may" of the Clanranalds, and the Marquis of Tullibardine's "Fare forth and fill the fetters."

They marched to the inspiring music of the bagpipes, and in the place of honour amongst them was an old iron gun, dragged by a team of Highland ponies. The prince had wanted to leave it behind, but the chiefs begged him to allow them to bring it because the clansmen, who had had

little to do with artillery, expected wonders from it. They felt great satisfaction when time signals were fired from it, which was all it was fit for.

Waverley found when he drew nearer to this army on the march that only the leading men of each clan were well armed; the poorer fellows were only armed with such weapons as they could provide for themselves: "Here was a pole-axe, there a sword without a scabbard; here a gun without a lock; there a scythe set straight upon a pole; and some had only their dirks, and bludgeons or stakes pulled out of the hedges." Waverley was amazed at the daring of a body of men, numbering less than four thousand, and only half of them properly armed, setting out to drive King George from the throne of England and change the fate of the British Isles.*

§ 4. Before long the prince had to face General Cope's army, which had hurried back from the Highlands, and now lay across his road to England at Prestonpans, near Edinburgh. A surprise attack was decided upon, and the prince said to his officers: "Follow me, gentlemen; by the assistance of God I will this day make you a free and happy people."

The Highlanders moved swiftly and silently in the dark; morning mists shrouded their approach; they advanced suddenly upon the English with their customary yell and rush, throwing down their muskets after one volley. There was a swirl of tartan in the air as they cast off their plaids, and then dashed forward with swords. The English were thrown into utter confusion, and hemmed in by walls which they had regarded as a defence. The Scottish victory was complete.

After a return to Edinburgh, the march south was begun once more. The prince entered Carlisle in state on a white horse, with a hundred pipers preceding him. They passed through Kendal and Lancaster to Preston, always a centre

* *Waverley*.

of Jacobite loyalty. Here they were met with a welcome in the streets, but few followers ventured to join their forces.

Manchester came next in the royal progress, then Derby. The prince spoke confidently of entering London. But now all his leading supporters could see that his short triumph had nearly run its course, and that they must persuade him to think of retreat rather than further conquest. The recruits in England had been very few; the expected large force from France had not arrived; Parliament had at last sent a really formidable general against them—the Duke of Cumberland (a son of George II.), a soldier of experience, whose troops were not new to war.

The prince at last reluctantly consented to the retreat, and it was carried out rapidly. Meanwhile a very small French force had landed in Scotland, and when the prince reached Scottish soil again he boldly planned to besiege Stirling. An English army was already in Scotland, under General Hawley, who was very contemptuous of Cope's two failures to check the undisciplined Highlanders. This army advanced to Falkirk to meet the prince. The Highlanders, again by a rapid, silent march, took them by surprise. A storm of blinding rain was driving into the faces of Hawley's troops; once more the wild Highland charge broke the lines of the English, and scattered them in retreat.

This was the last victory for Prince Charles. The Duke of Cumberland now made a systematic advance into Scotland, with supply-ships sailing up the coast. He taught his men a new formation, and gave them special drill in standing against a Highland charge.

The armies met at Culloden (1746). The prince's men were weary and hungry, but the Highland spirit revived at the promise of a battle. Some of the clans were, in fact, so impatient to be fighting that the right wing charged headlong and was defeated almost before the left wing was in action. Cumberland's tactics succeeded perfectly: the Highlanders charged on through the gaps in the English ranks prepared for them, and their enemies closed in behind them.

The only hope of life for the prince's troops lay in flight and hiding. Cumberland, trained in European wars, had stern ideas of how to treat rebels : there was no mercy.

Prince Charles himself wandered from one hiding-place to another for five months, often half starved, and with the barest shelter. He had many hairbreadth escapes, but he never met with treachery amongst the Scots, although there



The Duke of Cumberland.

was a price on his head. The Highland loyalty and love of a hero made Bonnie Prince Charlie, as they had come to call him, safe amongst them. He even shared the shelter of a cave with seven robbers for a time, and they fed and guarded him unfailingly.

The most famous of his escapes was that in which he was saved by Flora MacDonald. He was in hiding on an island when the English landed two thousand soldiers to search for him. Flora MacDonald, whose stepfather commanded a company of these soldiers, took pity on him.

She obtained a passport to the island of Skye for herself and her maid and a man-servant. The prince was disguised as her maid, and reached the journey's end safely.

At last the prince was able to embark in a French vessel,



Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the Young Pretender, disguised as the maid-servant of Flora Macdonald.

(From a 1750 portrait painted on enamel, in the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

which lay in waiting for Jacobite refugees, at the very spot where his first hopeless landing had taken place.

§ 5. The return of the Stuarts—which the Jacobites wanted—would no doubt have been a blow to the hard-won freedom of Great Britain, and probably some revolution like that of 1688 would have brought their reign to an

end once more. Bonnie Prince Charlie himself considered that he had a royal right to men's money, services, and lives, to use as he pleased. Without any hesitation he had plunged Scotland into civil war for the Stuart cause.

After this rising Parliament felt that it was no longer right or safe to allow the Highland chiefs to keep their feudal power over the clansmen, many of whom held land from their chief on condition of serving or following him at his command. Some of the new laws were harsh ; for instance, the use of clan tartans was forbidden. In some cases the new land laws were so managed that the chief gained all the land for himself and the poorer clansmen were left with nothing, and many emigrated to America.

Yet on the whole the changes were good for Scotland. The clansmen were made free to act for themselves ; new law courts gave more protection to those who were injured by their neighbours. Even in the Highlands law and order were found at last to be blessings worth having ; Lowlands and Highlands became one country in fact as well as in name, and England and Scotland more truly a United Kingdom.

THE FIRST BRITISH EMPIRE

8. An Empire Builder : William Pitt, the "Great Commoner"

William Pitt the Elder lived 1708-78

§ 1. William Pitt, who became one of the greatest ministers in English history, entered the House of Commons in 1735, and soon joined the band of young men known as the "Boy Patriots," who were determined to drive Walpole from power.

Pitt scorned Walpole's ways of buying votes and bribing members of Parliament; he felt that Walpole's policy of peace and prosperity at all costs was making England sluggish and cowardly, and no longer a leader amongst nations. He loved England intensely, and believed so firmly in her greatness that England learned from him at last that the country which had become mistress of the seas under Hawkins, Drake, Grenville, and Raleigh had a greater future than to settle down to quiet money-making.

Pitt had loved to study the heroic stories of Homer and Virgil, and he educated himself partly by his eager reading. His studies at Cambridge were cut short by an early attack of gout, by which he was often racked and crippled all through his life.

Pitt was not a man of property, although his family was not poor, and he had to choose a profession. He chose the army, and at twenty-three was a cornet (sub-lieutenant) in a cavalry regiment, with an income of £100 a year. He was a keen soldier, and studied all the military books he could obtain.



William Pitt the Elder, in his robes as Earl of Chatham.

(From the portrait by R. Brompton.)

In 1735 his family offered him the chance of entering Parliament. In the House of Commons Pitt found Walpole fighting against a host of enemies, like a wary old dog, with a pack of younger ones barking round him. When Pitt joined the "Boy Patriots," Walpole found that this new member could make the House of Commons listen to him,

and he exclaimed, "We must muzzle this terrible young cornet of horse!"

When Pitt stood up to speak he looked tall, graceful, and dignified, a complete contrast to the broad and burly Walpole. He had a powerful-looking nose and piercing eyes; a member who had trembled under his speeches spoke of the "terrors of his beak and the lightning of his eye." His earnest belief in what he was saying gave him a commanding look, and made those who listened feel that the man himself was greater than his words, fine as they were. He was described as a "royal kind of man." In the days of his power he could cow members whom he despised or felt to be in the wrong, with a few words, or even a look. Once he began a speech "Sugar . . ." upon which there was a laugh. "Sugar," repeated Pitt haughtily, and then twice more, "Sugar, sugar." The House sank into shamed silence at his look and tone, and then he continued, "Who will dare to laugh at sugar now?"

His enemies said that he acted too much, and behaved as if the House of Commons were a theatre; but behind Pitt's dramatic eloquence there was generally deep earnestness.

§ 2. Pitt began his career by thundering against Walpole's inaction in the face of Spanish insults in the South Seas. "Is this any longer a nation?" he cried; "is this any longer an English Parliament?"

Walpole tried to make Pitt afraid of him by having his commission in the army taken from him; this only stiffened Pitt's resistance.

Meanwhile England, still at war with Spain, was plunged into the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48). Austria was then at the head of the empire which had been known as the Holy Roman Empire ever since the days of Charlemagne. By the eighteenth century this empire consisted of a number of German states, including Austria, with independent governments, and there were constant disputes about who should be emperor.

When Charles VI., King of Hungary and Archduke of Austria, died, he left a daughter, Maria Theresa, to inherit his kingdom, and her husband hoped to become emperor. The other nations in Europe thought it a good time to break up the power of Austria and divide the empire. France, Bavaria, and Prussia all hoped to gain something for themselves. England had to decide what action to take, not only for herself, but for Hanover, which was in an important position amongst the warring nations.

At this time there was great rivalry between England and France : both were founding settlements in India and Canada, and it was still uncertain whether these countries would belong to a French or a British empire. Also France and Spain were bound by an agreement to check England in her attempts to enlarge her trade overseas.

There was a strong feeling in the country that England ought to protect Maria Theresa and strike a blow at France, but peace was maintained between the two countries until 1744.

In 1742 Walpole withdrew from the Government. The war dragged on, not very successfully. For the last time an English king took part in a battle, for George II. was present at the victory of Dettingen. At last a peace was signed. Maria Theresa had been protected, although she had to give up part of her lands ; but the quarrel between England and France had not yet been fought out, and their struggle for empire in Canada and India was soon to begin again, even before war was actually declared in 1756.

§ 3. Pitt had been very impatient during the war ; he felt that he could have put far more vigour into the English armies and their campaigns. At a later time he said : " I know that I can save the country, and I know that no other man can."

But he had to wait a very long time before he came into power. George II. disliked him very much, partly because of his attacks on Walpole, and partly because he had called

Hanover a "beggarly Electorate," * to whose interests England was being sacrificed. He had no great friends to support him, and in those days Government places were kept in the hands of a few powerful families.

In spite of his friendlessness in the House of Commons, and the fact that he was a poor man for his position (members were not paid then, and were generally rich men), Pitt had come to be a real leader in the country outside Parliament. With the people it was in his favour that he was not a member of a noble or wealthy family, and he was proud to be called the Great Commoner. He had won the trust of the country.

Pitt now began to do all he could to please the king and the Prime Minister. It was not only for his own sake that Pitt wanted power: he felt that he could give the country just the spirit and the leading that it needed at that time.

At last the king agreed to the admission of Pitt to a post in the Government, but one which would not bring him into the royal presence. Pitt was then made Vice-Treasurer for Ireland, and shortly afterwards Paymaster of the Forces (1746).

The post was one in which it was the custom for the holder to make a fortune; but Pitt refused to make a penny for himself by his management of the army pay and of the money granted to our allies. This honesty made him more than ever a hero with the people outside Parliament.

§ 4. It was not until ten years later, however, that Pitt got a real chance to show his ability. War broke out once more, and there was a great struggle, known as the Seven Years' War (1756-63). This time England was allied with Frederick the Great of Prussia against France and Austria. Frederick the Great was a fine soldier, and he not only defended his lands against France and Austria, but made his country the leading power in Germany, which then consisted of a great number of independent states.

* George I. of England was also Elector (and Duke) of Hanover, in Germany.

England's quarrel was really with France, and while she helped Frederick to keep a big French army busy in Europe, she fought battles more important to herself against the French in Canada and India.

At first the war was not very successful, and soon the



Admiral Byng.

country began to feel that Pitt alone could give our army and navy the chance of victory. Feeling in the country rose very high when a French fleet attacked Minorca, and Admiral Byng, who had been sent from England to strengthen the garrison, withdrew after an unsuccessful attempt to drive off the enemy. The whole nation seethed with anger at this disgrace. The Duke of Newcastle, receiving a body of London citizens who demanded the punishment of Byng, could only babble nervously: "Oh, indeed, he shall be tried immediately—he shall be hanged directly."

Pitt, with more courage, tried to save Byng. He knew that the admiral's fault was not cowardice, but a mistake in judgment, and that to shoot sailors and soldiers who fail is a poor way of making the navy and army brave. In spite of his protests, Byng was executed.

Still the country was angry and uneasy, and at last Pitt was given a leading place in the Government. He soon found, however, that he could not manage a House of Commons which was used to bribery and secret promises, to which he would not stoop, and he was forced to give up his post.

As a mark of their belief in Pitt at this time, city after city offered him its "freedom," * and sent him the usual gold casket containing the parchment granting the freedom. As an observer said, "It rained gold boxes."

At last Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle agreed to govern together. Pitt took command of all that concerned the war, and Newcastle carried on the old ways of bribing members and dealing out posts and honours. As Walpole's son wrote: "Mr. Pitt does everything, and the duke gives everything," and as long as they continued that, they found they could do what they pleased with Parliament and country.

With Pitt at the head of affairs, it seemed as if a new spirit of hope and courage ran through army, navy, country, and colonies. A soldier of the time said that every one who went into Pitt's room came out feeling a braver man. "The ardour of his soul had set the whole kingdom on fire. It inflamed every soldier who dragged the cannon up the heights of Quebec, and every sailor who boarded the French ships amongst the rocks of Brittany." †

Pitt understood the needs and temper of the British colonists struggling in Canada where the French settlers would not leave them in peace, and of the merchant clerks in India, living under the menace of such horrors as the

* That is, made him an honorary citizen of the city.

† Macaulay's *Historical Essays* (Essay on Chatham).

Black Hole of Calcutta, beset by warring tribes and jealous French armies.

The rest of Pitt's story belongs to that of the rise of the British Empire.*

9. India : Clive and Dupleix

§ 1. Before the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign adventurous merchants had begun to find out that there were riches and rarities to be had in the East as well as in the West, and the East India Company was formed (1600) in England to send out merchants to trade in India. They established small trading settlements (which they called "factories") on the coast, from which they could carry on business. The Dutch and the French made settlements of the same kind.

None of these traders went to India to conquer or to colonize. The English merchant clerks had to manage the Company's trade, and they wanted to make fortunes for themselves too and then come home again. They were glad enough if Indian princes would grant them enough land for a "factory"; often they paid rent for the land, and had to send presents to a prince when they wanted protection or some special favour.

Now the Hindus were the real natives of India, but from time to time vigorous fighting hordes of Mohammedans had swept down through the Khyber Pass from the countries on the north-west, where the climate was colder and the people more energetic. They overwhelmed the Hindus, who never drove them out of India again. The Mohammedans were not even all of the same race; they were Mongols, Turks, and Afghans, who banded themselves together because they all believed in Mohammed, and were eager to spread their great Prophet's teaching far and wide. The Hindu religion and way of life were quite different from those of the Mohammedans.

* See Chapters 10 to 13, and 15.

So there were men of many races in India, and different religions and different laws and customs divided the people, and this division is maintained to this day, though it is gradually breaking down as education spreads.

At the time when the English settlements in India were founded, the Mohammedans had established a great empire, ruled by famous princes called the Mogul * emperors, whose capital was Delhi. All the Hindu princes had to pay tribute to the Great Mogul, and he appointed Nawabs (or rulers) for distant provinces, who raised taxes for him and saw that his orders were obeyed. But most of the emperors were as restless as the first Mohammedan conquerors. They moved about the country with their families, followed by vast armies with their families also, and then trains of horses and elephants, menageries of wild beasts, hosts of servants, and shopkeepers with movable tent-shops. Their great camps were sometimes twenty miles round, and they ate everything that could be brought in from the district, and then moved on, leaving the fields stripped and the peasants starving.

After the death of each Mogul emperor, wars broke out between the native rulers and princes, and fierce Mahratta horsemen swept down from the north to plunder and to help the winning side.

§ 2. This tyranny, fighting, and unrest grew worse when the Mogul Empire began to break up (1707). And so the three little groups of white men (English, French, and Dutch) watched the peoples of India anxiously, and one another jealously. The English had settlements at Bombay, Madras, and Fort William in Bengal (later Calcutta). The Dutch were established in Bengal also, and the French in Bengal and at Pondicherry, south of Madras.

The French traders were the most warlike, and the French governors of Pondicherry began first to take part in the quarrels of the native rulers, and to dream of founding

* That is, Mongol.

a French empire in India. It was the French who first raised a native army officered by white men.

During the War of the Austrian Succession France and England were at war, and the governor of Pondicherry, named Dupleix, thought he had a great chance of driving the English out of India. When a French fleet arrived, under Admiral la Bourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, the



Marquis Dupleix.

(From a contemporary portrait.)

French felt strong enough to attack Madras, and captured it. Many of the Englishmen at Madras were carried off as prisoners to Pondicherry, and the English had only the small stronghold of Fort St. David left in that part of India.

Amongst the English prisoners in Madras was Robert Clive, a young clerk in the East India Company's service, who was at last to shatter all Dupleix's ambitious plans and play a great part in settling the future of India.

Robert Clive had been an idle, dare-devil boy, who only distinguished himself by such feats as climbing on to a

stone dragon's head, which leaned over a crowded street from half-way up a church spire, to pick a stone from between its ears. His family did not know what to do with this wild boy who had learned little at school, and when a chance came of sending him to India as a clerk, at the age of eighteen, they were thankful.

At first Clive was very miserable. There was no one to welcome him in Madras, and he was too proud and shy to make friends easily. He hated desk-work too. He is said to have tried twice to shoot himself, but the pistol would not fire. Strangely enough, this made him more hopeful; a feeling came that there must be something for him to do in the world. He began to interest himself in Indian life, he studied in the Government House library, and observed what went on about him, and he learned much about the character of the natives.

When Clive found himself a captive at Madras his love of adventure revived, and he made his escape in disguise. On reaching Fort St. David he did not go back to his clerk's work, but joined the armed force which the East India Company kept to protect their trade. He soon proved himself a keen soldier, with courage and skill.

At the end of the War of the Austrian Succession France made peace with England, and Dupleix had to give back Madras. But now Dupleix had his armies, both French and native soldiers, free to play a great part in the quarrels and wars of the Indian princes. He became a man of great importance, and ruled over a large native province, as well as being French governor of Pondicherry. He was given the Indian title of Commander of Seven Thousand Horses. To impress the natives, he lived in great state, and wore rich robes and jewels, like a Mohammedan prince. When he rode out on his elephant, banners were carried before him, and when he received petitioners they had to make their requests on their knees.

The natives now believed that France was a stronger nation than England, and, like the warlike Highlanders, they admired strength above all things; they despised

weakness too much to wish to help those who could not hold their own against their enemies.

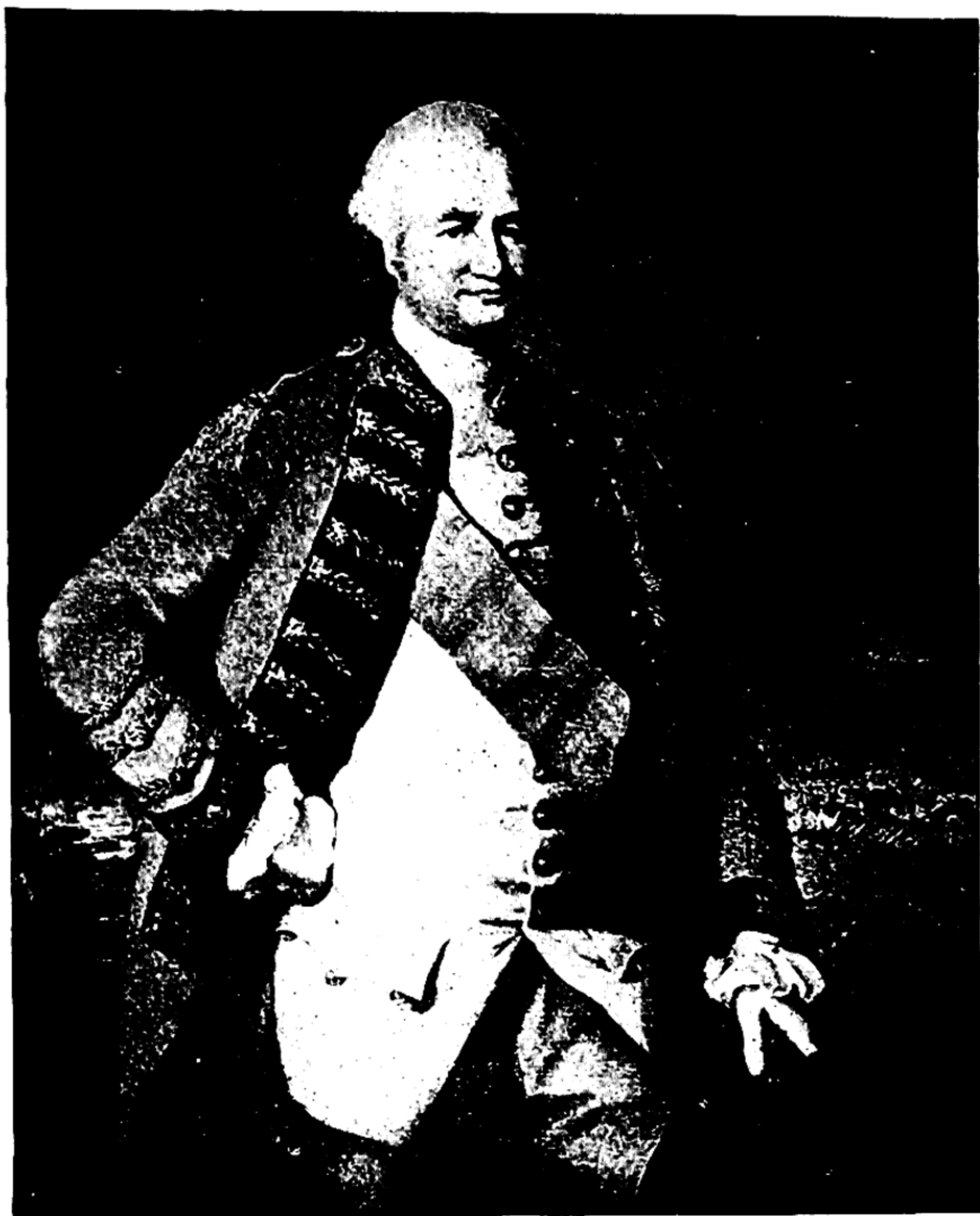
§ 3. Although France and England were not now at war, their armies in India met in native battles, and soon Dupleix openly attacked the English again. Before long he had driven the English army before him and cooped it up in Trichinopoly. Outside Trichinopoly there was only a small English armed force in Fort St. David; but with this small force was Clive, and it was now that he saved the position of the English in India.

Clive saw that the French had left the important town of Arcot unprotected, and he asked the governor of Fort St. David to give him a force to lead against it, hoping that this would draw part of the French army away from Trichinopoly. Clive marched off with two hundred English soldiers and three hundred Sepoys (natives), and three small guns: what he did with this little army is a wonderful story.

First Clive had to teach the Sepoys how to fight like trained and disciplined soldiers. Native soldiers were used to depending entirely on their leader; if he fell, they all fled from the field. Also, the princes and officers refused to fight at all if they saw or heard anything that they thought unlucky. For instance, they kept caged lions and tigers, and if these were sulky they thought it an unlucky day to fight, but if the beasts showed spirit and fierceness they considered it a sign that they would win a victory.

After six days' march, Clive's little army was in such good order that the native soldiers in Arcot fled before them, and they marched triumphantly into the town. But very soon they were besieged there, by a large native army, held firm by French officers.

The fort Clive had to defend was crumbling into ruin, and when the enemy had fired on it almost without ceasing for seven weeks, it seemed as if it might crumple up at any moment and bury the brave defenders in its dust. The commander of the besieging army tried both to frighten



Lord Clive.

(From the portrait by Dance in the National Portrait Gallery.)

and to bribe Clive into surrender, but it was of no use. The fine spirit of the Sepoys under Clive was shown by their telling him, when food was running short, that the English

soldiers might have all the rice, and they would live on the water it was boiled in.

At last the courage of Clive and his little force won such admiration from the plundering bands of Mahratta horsemen, who were circling round the besiegers undecided which side to take, that they began to help him by cutting off the food supplies of his enemies. Now the besiegers made one last great attack on Arcot. Elephants were brought up with iron plates on their foreheads to batter down the walls, and charge after charge was made. Under the steady fire of the defenders, the elephants took fright and made a stampede back into the ranks of the natives; Clive seemed to be everywhere, the Mahrattas threatened the besiegers from behind, and a rumour spread that another English force was drawing near. Quite suddenly the attack was given up, and the besiegers marched away in confusion, leaving behind them guns, ammunition, and even their treasure-chest.

After the siege of Arcot (1751) the English began to take the lead, instead of letting the French harry and drive them from place to place, and the Hindus began to look up to them once more. When Clive, after further victories, utterly destroyed a village which Dupleix had built as a memorial of one of his victories, the natives felt that French power was broken.* The native soldiers gave Clive a name of their own, which meant "Daring in War," and they were ready to follow him anywhere.

When the English settlements in south India were safe from further French attacks, Clive went home to England, a hero and a rich man. His father, on hearing of the triumphs of the son whom he had not expected to do any good in the world, said, "The booby had some sense after all!"

* Macaulay (Essay on Clive) calls the village a "city," and says that it included a "stately monument," with "vaunting inscriptions," "designed to commemorate the triumphs of France"; but there is no mention of such a monument in the official report, made by Clive himself, and no reason to believe that it ever existed.

10. Clive and the Conquest of Bengal

Battle of Plassey, 1757

The next time trouble arose in India it was in Bengal, where the East India Company held Fort William at Calcutta, on the delta of the Ganges. The native Nawab



Surajah Dowlah.

(From a miniature in the Indian Museum.)

(ruler) of that district, Surajah Dowlah, had boasted that he would drive the English into the sea, and one day he marched upon Fort William. The English governor fled, with many of the traders and their wives and children, and Surajah Dowlah found the fort almost undefended. He seized the remaining occupants, one hundred and forty-six

men and one woman, and shut them up in a narrow room only eighteen feet long, with two small barred windows.

The intense heat of an Indian night is bad to bear even in a large room with a fan to cool the air ; in this den, afterwards called the Black Hole of Calcutta, the English prisoners had to stand closely packed together, and they were tortured by thirst, and soon actually suffocating. Fighting for breath, they struggled towards the small windows in their misery ; by morning all but twenty-three were dead.

The story of the Black Hole of Calcutta stirred every Englishman in India with horror, but it was long before it could be heard in England. At that time it often took a year to receive an answer to a letter sent from India to London !

Clive, who was now back in India, was sent from Madras with a small army, which was all the Company could give him, to frighten Surajah Dowlah and recapture Calcutta.

Surajah Dowlah was still determined to drive the English out of Bengal ; he had vast riches and great native armies, and he expected help from the French. Clive saw that the English must either crush him or go ; and as the odds against them were so great, he determined to take advantage of the treachery of some of Surajah Dowlah's own subjects. He agreed with one of the Nawab's generals, called Mir Jafar, that he should desert to Clive's side in the middle of the first battle in which the two armies met. He also employed an important native banker as a spy, and drew up a sham treaty promising him a great reward. No doubt Clive felt that it was fair to use treachery against the cruel and treacherous tyrant Surajah Dowlah and the greedy and faithless banker Omichund ; but the sham treaty, by which he cheated the spy of his reward, is a blot on his fame.

The great battle which broke the power of Surajah Dowlah was fought at Plassey in 1757. The season of storms had begun, and Clive's men marched to the battle-field through floods which were often waist-high. It seemed madness for his small army to face the swarms of infantry

and cavalry under Surajah Dowlah, and his monster guns, each mounted on a platform drawn by forty yoke of oxen and pushed from behind by an elephant! Most of the English officers thought they ought to retreat. It was not even certain whether Mir Jafar would keep his promise or not. Clive went alone into the grove of trees to make his decision; after an hour he came back and announced his intention to fight.

At first Clive could do no more than hold his own, but at last he launched a successful attack; and when he was already driving the Nawab's army before him, Mir Jafar came over to his side with a large following of native soldiers, and the day was won.

The victory of Plassey made the English masters in Bengal, as they made Mir Jafar the Nawab in place of Surajah Dowlah, and he dare not refuse anything they asked.

Mir Jafar led Clive into Surajah Dowlah's treasure-chamber and offered him riches beyond measure. Clive accepted a fixed sum, which he considered a fair return for what he had done for Mir Jafar. It was not half of what he might have taken, but it caused him trouble later on.

In the year that Clive returned to India the Seven Years' War had broken out (1756), and therefore England and France were once more at war. The English now proceeded to take all the French settlements in India. Clive took Chandernagore in Bengal, and Eyre Coote (one of the few officers who had voted for going forward at Plassey) won an important victory at Wandewash in 1760, and in 1761 Pondicherry was given up to the English.

The French could never again hope to found an empire in India. They had been driven out chiefly by Clive, without very much help from the English Government at home, although Pitt had seen the military greatness of Clive from the first, and had spoken of him in Parliament as "that heaven-born General." In later years Clive said that Pitt was the only man he found in Parliament who really understood great ideas.

11. British Rule in India : Clive and Warren Hastings

§ 1. When Clive left India again, the English rulers there soon fell into shameful confusion. Parliament did not yet take the government of the English provinces from the East India Company, and the merchant clerks and soldiers whom the Company sent out did not go as representatives of English law and justice. They went to make money for the Company, protect its trade, and make fortunes for themselves if they could. They carried on private trade to enrich themselves, and they fell into the Eastern way of taking large presents from natives who asked them for favours or protection; they did not mind if the government was unjust and founded on bribery, so long as it gave them chances of growing rich. The last service, and the best, which Clive did for India was to go out once more to check these bad ways, and make the Company's rule less greedy and unjust.

The end of Clive's life was sad. He came home to be one of the richest men in England; he had beautiful houses and fine horses and carriages, and he was made a lord, with the title of Lord Clive of Plassey. He became a member of Parliament, and spoke and worked for India in the House of Commons. After a time his enemies in Parliament accused him of having taken money from native rulers to enrich himself, and the sham treaty with Omichund was also brought up against him.

In the end, however, Parliament refused to condemn him, and passed a resolution that "Robert, Lord Clive, did render great and meritorious services to his country."

Clive never threw off the depression which this attack caused him, and his health had already been broken. In a mood of despair he put an end to his own life.

§ 2. Before long an improvement was made in the

government of India. An Act of Parliament appointed a Governor-General and English judges to establish just rule over the British provinces in India. Private trading and the taking of presents were forbidden, and the East India



Warren Hastings.

Company was made to report all its actions to Parliament. Warren Hastings was made the first Governor-General, in 1774. He had been at Plassey with Clive, and had been sent by him to direct Mir Jafar when he was made Nawab of Bengal.

Warren Hastings was a strong governor, and his rule freed the natives from many of the oppressions of merchants

and clerks, and he stopped some cruel native punishments, and saw that only fair rents were taken for land. He was so much admired and feared in India that for more than a hundred years native mothers sang to their babies about the great master, Warren Hastings.

But Hastings had to discuss all his actions with a jealous council, and when he came home (1785) he, like Clive, was accused in Parliament. He was tried for greed and injustice in his rule in India. The House of Commons made the accusation, and the House of Lords sat to judge him. (This kind of trial was called an impeachment.)

The trial lasted for seven years, with intervals in which Hastings was allowed to go to his home. One of his accusers, on seeing him standing in the box at his trial, exclaimed: "What a sight is that! To see that man enclosed now in that little space, brought to that bar, a prisoner in a spot six feet square—and to reflect on his late power! Nations at his command! princes prostrate at his feet! What a change. How he must feel it!"

At last Warren Hastings was acquitted; the Lords would not condemn him. The trial had, however, shown that the governors of India must carry out their rule there with the same justice and sense of honour that would be expected in England. If they did not, they must be prepared to be put on trial.

The difficulty of taking presents was met later in an interesting way. It was felt that Eastern people, who give and receive presents to celebrate almost every event, could not feel at home with the English governing class (now called Civil Servants) unless they could express friendliness by gifts. So the Civil Servants were allowed to receive presents of fruit and flowers, but nothing else. Often on a feast day or an anniversary the rooms of the English governors were almost completely blocked up by beautiful wreaths and crowns of flowers, and rare fruits.

12. English and French in North America

§ 1. The English colonies in North America were not just trading-stations like the early settlements in India. The colonists who went to Virginia in 1607, and the Pilgrim Fathers who sailed to found New England across the Atlantic in 1620, went to make their homes there. After Virginia was founded, a number of gold-seekers flocked out to join the colonists; but Governor John Smith told them sternly that "Nothing is to be expected but by labour." He also wrote to the Council of Virginia in England to send out "but thirty carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees' roots, rather than a thousand of such as we have."

At the same period the French were also making settlements and building a "New France" in America. As in India, the French colonists were more military than the English, and thought more of conquest, to spread the rule of their king and their Church, and not so much of trade and settlement. A Frenchman in Canada, explaining to an Indian the difference between the King of France and the King of England, pointed out how many forts the French king's subjects set up, and how few trees they cut down. The English, on the other hand, built few forts, but they cut down forests and laid the land bare for their own crops, and so, the Frenchman said, they would soon eat up the Indians' hunting-grounds.

Both English and French had many fights with the Red Indians. It was terrible when white men and women fell into their hands as captives, and one of the worst things in the story of the North American colonies is the way in which French and English would encourage the Indians to join them when they fought each other.

Although North America is so vast, the English and French soon began to hamper each other. The English colonies had all been settled in the belt of land between the coast and the Alleghany Mountains, but soon the colonists

wanted to spread farther, and especially to open up a way on the north-west for carrying on the fur trade. The French barred their way on the west ; for they had settled in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi in the great province of Louisiana, named after King Louis XIV.

Louisiana, and all the unknown land west of the Alleghanies, had been claimed for France by a party of French explorers in 1682. They had set up a pillar and a cross near the mouth of the Mississippi to mark their claim for king and Church. On the pillar were carved the arms of France, and the words : " Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, reigns, 9th April, 1682." From that time forward the French had felt that all the land west of the Alleghanies belonged to them, and they planned a waterway up the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, and by Lake Erie, joining up Louisiana with the St. Lawrence River and French Canada.



French Canadian trapper.

§ 2. The English carried on their trading with the Indians in the Ohio valley in spite of French protests, and soon the French were stirring up the Indians to attack them. As in India, the War of the Austrian Succession, when

France and England were on opposite sides, gave an excuse for open fighting. In 1745 the English took the French fortress of Louisbourg, commanding the mouth of the St. Lawrence, but they had to give it back when peace was made, just as the French in India had to give back Madras.

Nevertheless the peace made in Europe did not stop the fighting in North America. In 1754 the English colonists sent a force under Washington (afterwards the first President of the United States) to hold part of the Ohio, which the French had formally claimed in 1749 by fixing tin plates, on which were printed the arms of France, to trees along the banks. Washington's small force was captured by the French, who set them free again later. Fort Duquesne remained to guard the forts of the Ohio for France.

The following year (1755) each country sent an army to support their colonists in this struggle. The English decided to make a big attack on Fort Duquesne, and the attacking army was led by General Braddock, who had just come out from England. Braddock was trained in European ways of fighting, and he did not think that the colonials could teach him anything about American warfare, and he soon offended the Indians, who said, "He looks upon us as dogs."

The first task of Braddock's army was to cut its way through pathless forests which divided the English and French colonies. Three hundred axemen went before the army cutting down trees and preparing a road for them, and it took them nearly a month to get near Fort Duquesne. The colonists, used to making their way without paths, said scornfully that Braddock made them stop to level molehills and build bridges over brooks.

When the French in Fort Duquesne heard that this army was drawing near, they lit fires to summon the Indians to their aid, and a French officer, wearing a fringed shirt like an Indian "brave," led a small French army and six hundred painted and feathered "red men" into the forest. They hid behind trees and poured a hail of bullets on the

English soldiers, who were taken by surprise and could not see their foes. Their scarlet uniforms made the English soldiers good targets for French and Indian shooters, and when they, too, scattered and tried to take cover behind the trees, as they saw the colonials under Washington doing, General Braddock rushed at them and drove them together again with blows from the flat of his sword. He knew no other way of fighting than in a solid block, and thought it cowardly of his soldiers to scatter.

Thus many more were shot down, and at last the English army fled back the way they had come in a mad rush, carrying their wounded general with them. He was dying, and his last words were: "Who would have thought it? We shall better know how to deal with them another time."

Two more English generals were sent out who did not seem to know any better, and failed in the attacks they led. By this time the Seven Years' War had begun, and England and France were again open enemies in Europe, India, and North America; but it was not until Pitt came into power that the English won any success in North America.

13. Wolfe and the Conquest of Canada

Battle of Quebec, 1759

The year 1759 was one of great victories for England and her allies in the Seven Years' War. This war was waged to decide the rivalry between Prussia and Austria for the leadership of Germany, and between England and France for empire in India and North America.

Prussia, England's ally, had a brilliant leader in her soldier-king, Frederick the Great, but his small country could not have stood alone, against the might of France and Austria, without English help in money and men. When Frederick became king, Prussia was considered of little importance in the affairs of Europe, but by the end of the Seven Years' War she was one of the "Great Powers" of

Europe, and Frederick had prepared the way for a strong, united Germany.

At first England gave Frederick very little help in Europe, and it was not until William Pitt came into power that Frederick could rely on England's strength to support him. Of Pitt, Frederick exclaimed joyfully: "At last my ally, England, has produced a man!"



Frederick II. (the Great), King of Prussia.

(From a contemporary portrait.)

In 1757 Frederick won a masterly victory at Rossbach, but it was all he could do to continue to hold his ground against France and Austria. In 1759 Pitt rallied all England's strength for the war, and sent both money and an army to Frederick. This English army helped to win an important victory at Minden, and Frederick established his power again.

In the same year the English fleet came into action. France had completed great preparations for an invasion of England, but before the troops could be embarked Admiral Hawke bore down upon the

French fleet in Quiberon Bay. The pilot who was guiding the admiral warned him that it would be very dangerous to attack amongst the rocks and shoals in a rough sea. Hawke replied: "You have done your duty in this remonstrance, now lay me alongside the French admiral." The result was a great victory, and the French fleet was ruined.

The third of the great victories which made the year 1759 so memorable was the conquest of Quebec, in Canada.

France had prepared to send reinforcements to Montcalm, the French commander in Canada and a fine soldier. Pitt determined that no more French troops should cross the Atlantic, and the English fleet succeeded in preventing the French ships from sailing. Once more the navy did not fail, and without the navy England could never have founded an empire overseas.

Pitt had sent out new leaders, chosen by himself for vigour and promise, to open a fresh campaign in Canada. One of these leaders was Wolfe, of whom a courtier remarked to George II. that he was mad. "Mad, is he?" said the king, "then I hope he will bite some others of my generals!"

In the new campaign Fort Duquesne was taken (and afterwards renamed Pittsburg in honour of Pitt), and Louisbourg was recaptured, but the French were still posted in great strength in Canada, and the strongest fortress of all was Quebec, near the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence. The English knew that Quebec was the key to Canada; if they could take Quebec, the French would not be able to remain in Canada for long. It seemed, however, almost hopeless to try to take it.

Quebec was built on a great rock which rose sheer out of the river basin, as Gibraltar rises out of the Mediterranean Sea; behind the town there were also steep cliffs, and another river at the foot of them. The one advantage the English had was that their capture of Louisbourg gave them a fort commanding the entrance of the St. Lawrence.

Pitt chose Wolfe to attempt this almost impossible attack. Wolfe was a young general, but he had joined the



James Wolfe.

(National Portrait Gallery.)

army at fourteen, and had fought in Germany, France, and America, and at the age of twenty-one had been publicly thanked by his commander. At one time he had held a Highland fort on which Rob Roy had made attacks not many years before; later, he fought at Culloden. It is interesting to find that Wolfe had Highland soldiers under his command at Quebec. It was one of Pitt's finest ideas



The Marquis de Montcalm.

(From a contemporary portrait.)

to band the warlike Highlanders into regiments and offer them overseas the kind of adventurous fighting they loved.

Wolfe camped on the island of Orleans, just below Quebec, but weeks passed, and he had not even alarmed Montcalm, who was in command of the town. A Frenchman said, "You may ruin the town, but you will never get inside."

At last Wolfe determined to try a desperate plan. He

transported a considerable body of troops to a position up the river, above Quebec, so that they might be the more likely to surprise the enemy by a sudden attack. He had noticed a steep, almost unclimbable, little path up the cliffs across the river. His men were packed into boats which, with muffled oars, crept down the river. Once they were challenged by French sentries, but a Highland officer, who could speak French, replied quickly that they belonged to a certain French regiment which was carrying provisions into Quebec. "Hush!" he said, "we shall be overheard."

During the night Wolfe kept himself calm by repeating the verses of Gray's poem about the dead in a country churchyard, and he was heard to say: "I would rather have written that poem than take Quebec."

The moment came for the soldiers to land; looking up at the precipice above them, Wolfe said to his officers, "I don't think we can by any possible means get up here, but, however, we must use our best endeavour."

But the soldiers did get up, pulling one another and clinging to branches and roots; the Highlanders were amongst the first to reach the plain at the top, called the Heights of Abraham. The French guard, surprised in the dark, were soon silenced, and when daylight came the French in Quebec were horrified to see five thousand red-coated English soldiers drawn up for attack on the heights above the town.

The French made a desperate defence, and Indian war cries rang out strangely against the screech of Scottish bagpipes. Wolfe was wounded in the midst of the battle, and carried out of the fight a dying man. An officer beside him suddenly cried out, "They run! See how they run!"

"Who run?" gasped Wolfe.

"The enemy, sir. Egad, they give way everywhere."

"Now," said Wolfe, "I die content!"

Montcalm also was killed. He was a brave leader, and when a monument was set up long afterwards on the Heights of Abraham, Wolfe's name was carved on one side and Montcalm's on the other.

After the capture of Quebec, French power in Canada was broken.

Montreal was taken next, and in 1760 (a year before the surrender of Pondicherry in India) the French gave up the rest of Canada. It was not to be New France after all, but a part of the British Empire.

Most of the French settlers remained under British rule, and there are many French names and French customs in the province of Quebec to this day.

14. How Captain Cook explored Australia and New Zealand

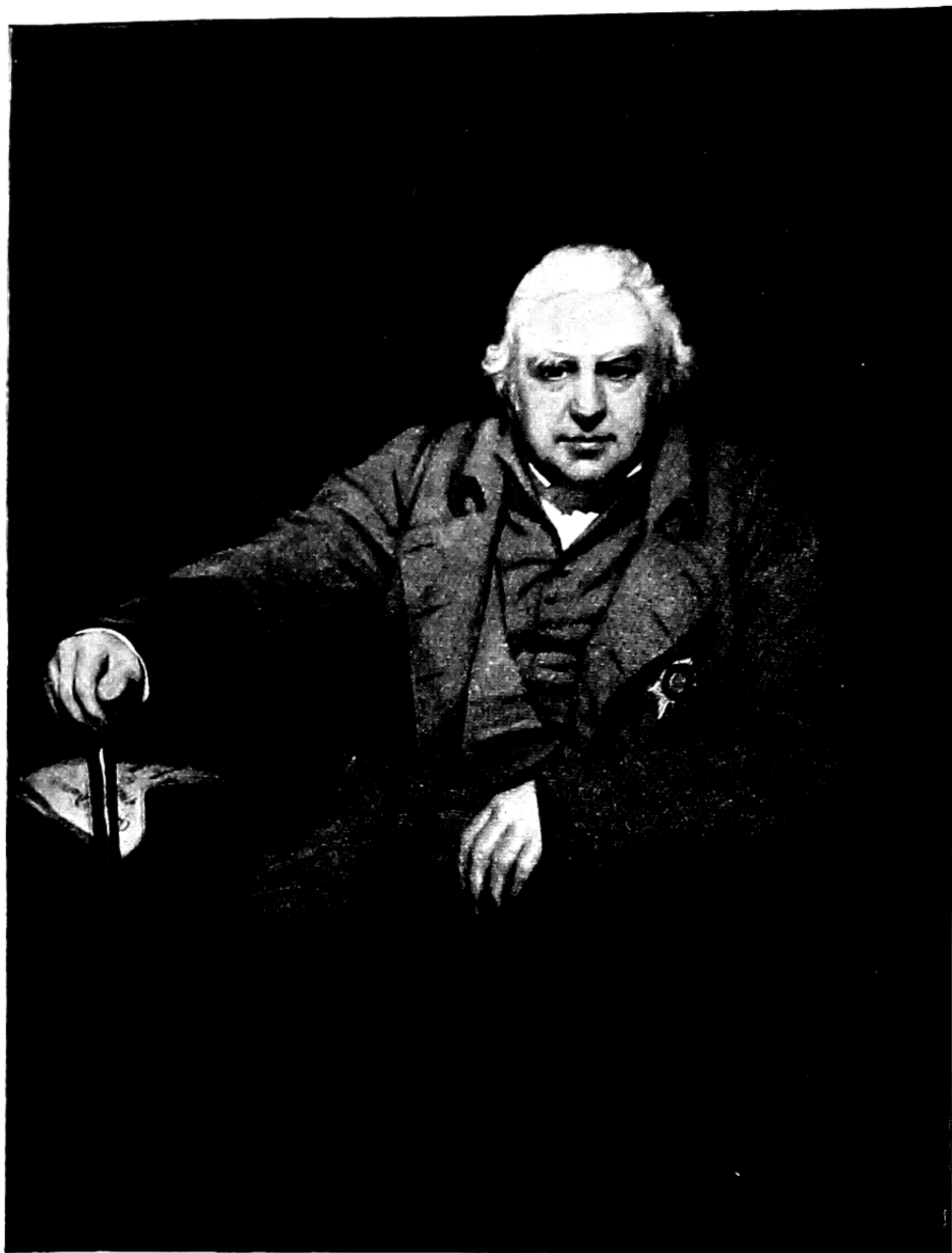
Cook's First Voyage to Australia, 1768

§ 1. Clive in India, Wolfe in Canada, and Pitt in London, had, in the space of the Seven Years' War, turned England's groups of colonies and trading-stations in India and Canada into members of a growing British Empire.

Five years after the peace which ended the Seven Years' War, Captain Cook sailed in the *Endeavour*, with a party of scientists who were to observe, from a favourable spot in the South Sea Islands, how the planet Venus crossed the sun, and then they were to accompany him on explorations in the South Pacific Ocean. This voyage, with its peaceful scientific purposes, led to England's quietly taking possession of a continent, a vaster addition to the Empire than either Clive or Wolfe had won by arms.

James Cook had started work as a boy in a shop in Staithes, ten miles from Whitby, where drapery was sold on one side and groceries on the other. In Whitby he saw many ships come in and sail out again, and heard sailors' and fishermen's talk on the quay. One morning his master found the shop unopened, and Cook's bed under the counter empty; the boy had run away and gone to sea.

James Cook soon rose in his new life; he learned mathematics and studied charting and surveying until he became



SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

*(From the portrait by T. Phillips in the National Portrait Gallery.
See page 83.)*

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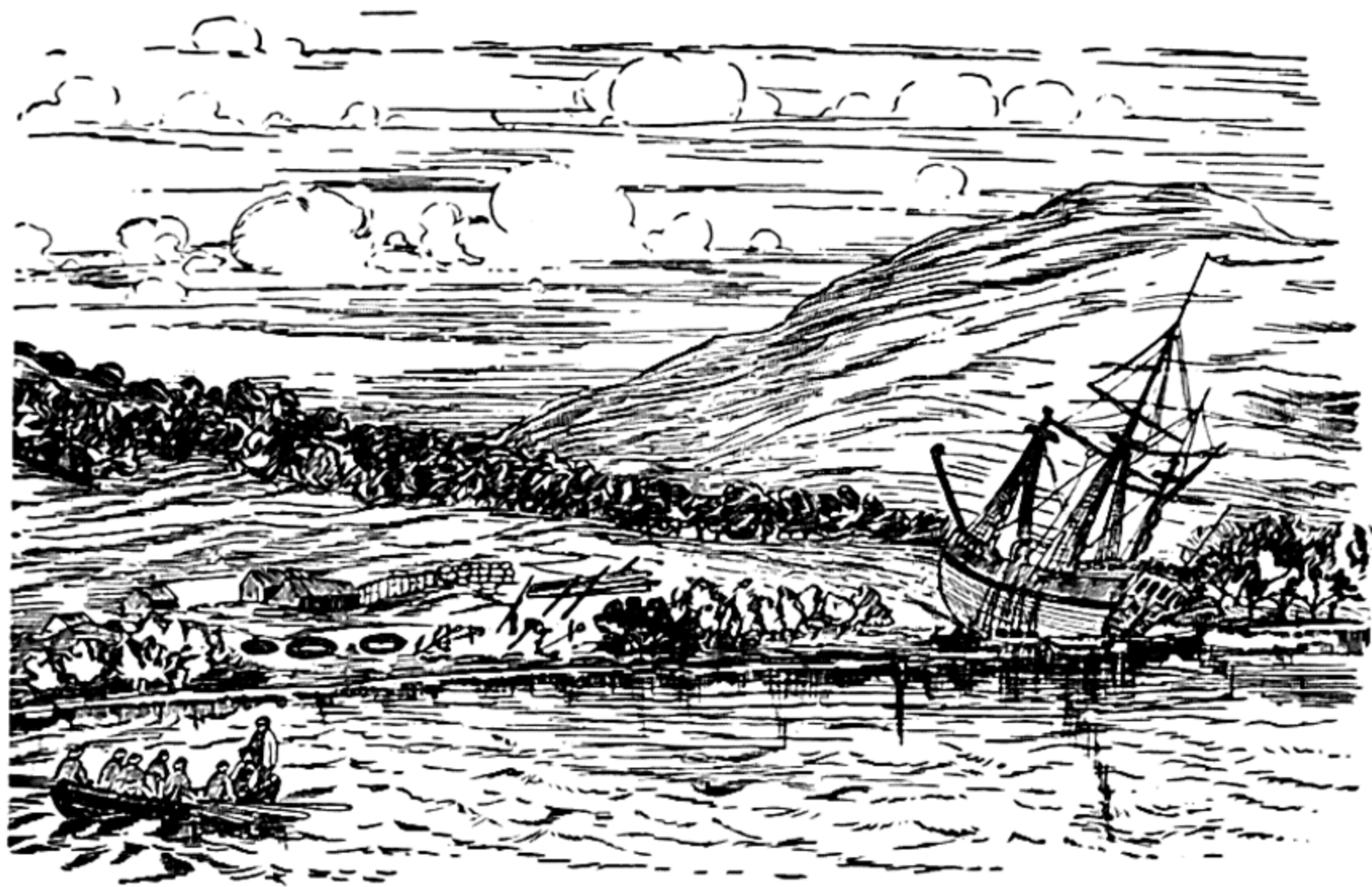
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a clever map-maker. In those days many parts of the world were still unmapped, and to Cook was given the important work of making maps and charts of the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador. He was with Wolfe at Quebec, and charted the river St. Lawrence for him secretly by night. Once he was almost caught by Indians in a canoe, and only just jumped to land from one end of his boat as they jumped into it at the other.

When Cook became well known as a clever and trust-



Captain Cook's vessel beached at the entrance to Endeavour River, where the seaport of Cooktown now stands.

worthy sailor, he was given command of the *Endeavour* on her voyage of scientific exploration. The *Endeavour* sailed in 1768.

Before this date English explorers had generally been bold adventurers who had not set about discovery in a scientific way. In the seventeenth century many of them had sailed amongst the islands of the West and East Indies as pirates ; others had been more anxious to catch Spanish treasure ships than to find new islands or the great Un-

known South Land about which men often talked and wondered. The famous English sailor Anson, during a wonderful three years' voyage, captured a great Spanish galleon in 1743, and returned with treasure which was taken through London in thirty-two wagons, with bands playing all along the road.

Before Captain Cook's voyages many of the South Sea Islands, which in a map of to-day dot the Pacific Ocean between America and Australia and the East Indies, had not yet been discovered. The only route across the Pacific of which something was known was the way the Spaniards used to take from South America to the Philippine Islands, which missed most of the islands south of the equator.

Only the north and part of the west coast of Australia had been explored, and New Guinea was thought to be a part of it. In old maps a blank was left for the rest of Australia, and behind the western coast-line were written the Latin words *Terra Australis Incognita*, which means the Unknown South Land.

No white man had yet set foot on New Zealand, though the Dutch explorer Tasman had sailed along part of the coast. He found the natives, the warlike Maoris, so fierce that he called the bay where he anchored "Murderers' Bay," and he dared not land.

§ 2. The *Endeavour* first steered her course to Tahiti in the group of Society Islands, which had lately been discovered. Here the astronomers made their observations. They found the natives gentle and friendly, and they were invited to feasts of bread-fruit, plantains (a kind of banana), and fish, under the roofs set up amongst the trees for shelter; none of the native houses had walls. Captain Cook was well provided with things to exchange with the natives for food, such as beads, ribbons, iron nails, knives, and medals. He gave the Queen of Tahiti an English child's doll as a present, and she was very proud of it, but it caused trouble because the king became jealous, and would not be friendly again until Captain Cook gave him a doll too.

After leaving Tahiti the ship sailed south until New Zealand was sighted, and there six months were spent in exploring the coast. Cook discovered that New Zealand was not, as had been thought, part of a great continent stretching to the South Pole. He also was the first to find out that New Zealand consists of two islands, and the strait between North and South Islands is called Cook Strait in his honour.

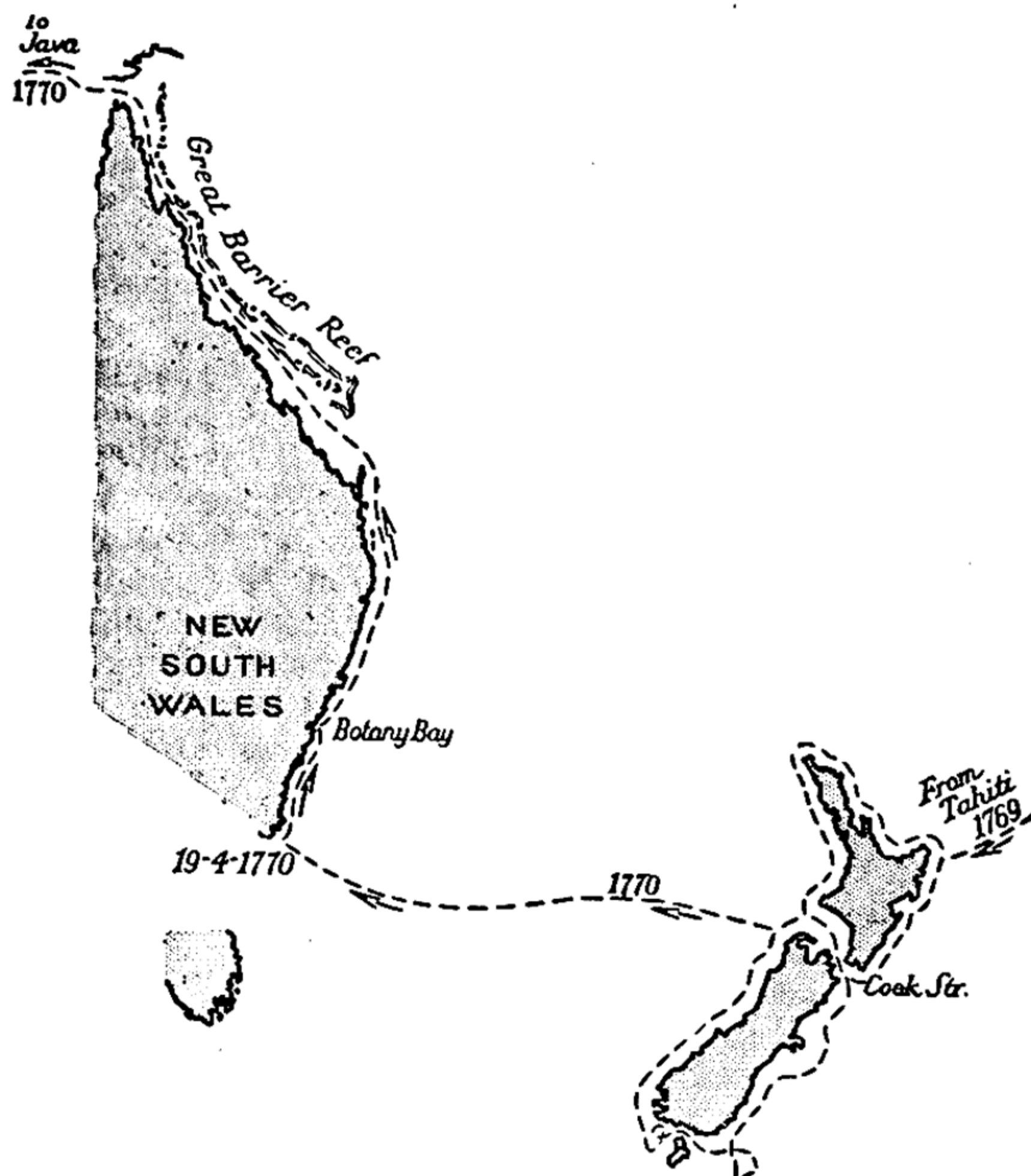
He found the Maoris still fierce and threatening ; they did not care for beads and ribbons or show pleasure at the wonders of the "great white bird," as they called the English ship, like the kind and happy natives of Tahiti. They would only exchange fresh food for iron nails, knives, and hatchets. Nevertheless Captain Cook landed on both islands, and set up posts with the name of the ship and the date carved on them, and "Union Jacks" flying from the tops.

Cook visited New Zealand five times before his death, and introduced pigs and potatoes to the island. Once a party from a ship which had sailed with him was lost near Queen Charlotte's Sound, and it was afterwards discovered that they had been eaten by cannibals.

§ 3. From New Zealand the *Endeavour* sailed north again to explore the unknown coast of Australia. After a narrow escape from shipwreck on a coral reef they reached land, with the ship badly damaged, and camped on shore while they repaired it. The few natives they saw seemed timid compared with the Maoris, and not sociable like the Tahitians.

Here they saw kangaroos for the first time. One of the sailors thought the first he saw was the Devil !

Captain Cook explored two thousand miles of the coast of Australia. He landed at a spot which he named Botany Bay, because the scientists, under Sir Joseph Banks, found so many plants and flowers there ; here he carved the name of the ship and the date on a tree, hoisted the Union Jack, and solemnly declared that he took possession of all this land



Captain Cook's exploration of the coasts of New Zealand and Eastern Australia.

for King George III., under the name of New South Wales. Then his men fired a volley with their muskets, and the *Endeavour* answered with her guns.

The part of Australia which had already been discovered had been called New Holland, because the Dutch first discovered it when they were sailing to and from the Spice Islands, on which they grew cloves, nutmegs, pepper, and

other spices. As there was no trade to be done in New Holland, they did not settle there.

After exploring the whole east coast Cook sailed through Torres Straits, thus proving that Australia was not joined to New Guinea. At Torres Straits he again set up the Union Jack, and the English muskets and ship's guns rattled and boomed over the silent, bare country which they claimed for the British Empire.

Captain Cook made two more important voyages. In his second he explored the icy seas south of New Zealand, and had narrow escapes amongst floating icebergs. In his third voyage he searched unsuccessfully for a passage for ships from the Pacific round the north of North America to the Atlantic.

On his last voyage his two ships, the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, stopped at the Sandwich Islands, and at Hawaii they were treated with great honour, and at first the natives thought that Captain Cook was an ancient god revisiting their land. They saw that his men were hungry, and delighted to bring food and watch them eat it, and then they would pat the sailors' stomachs with satisfaction !

Unfortunately a storm drove the ships back to Hawaii a second time, and the natives, now rather tired of them and their wants, stole a ship's boat. Captain Cook tried to get their king on board the *Resolution* as a hostage until the boat was returned. This made the natives angry, and suddenly a fight began, and Captain Cook was killed, just as he had turned his back on the natives for a moment to sign to the men in his boat not to fire on them.

§ 4. No other nation tried to claim Australia, which was thought too barren and wild to be worth settling. However, the British flag was hoisted only just in time, both in Australia and New Zealand, for the French had sent out ships to both lands.

Gradually England began to make use of Australia. The first body of English people sent there were eight hundred "convicts," who sailed with a governor and a guard of

soldiers in 1787, in what is known in Australian history as the First Fleet. The governor drew up his soldiers on the shore of Botany Bay and ordered them to fire a volley. Then he spoke to the prisoners, telling them that they now had a chance to prove once more that they were good British subjects, and to begin life again.

If these convicts behaved well they were allowed to make homes for themselves in Australia. Some of them made fine colonists, for they were not all thieves or real wrong-doers ; in those days men and women were sent to Botany Bay for quite small crimes, such as poaching a hare for a hungry family, or even for such things as belonging to a trade union, or to political societies which Parliament thought revolutionary.

Soon the town of Sydney was rising fast in that empty continent, which was now really added to the empire.

§ 5. The history of New Zealand was not so peaceful. There French traders came too for the flax and timber, and the fisheries brought tough old English seamen to catch seals and whales. They treated the Maoris like savage animals, and carried some of them off as slaves. The Maoris took their revenge by killing white men whenever they could, and the land was filled with fighting and cruelty, until sailors and traders were once more afraid to land there.

At last an English missionary from Australia made friends with two great Maori chiefs, and found out they were really brave and adventurous rather than savage and cruel, and capable of learning new ways of life. He gave them wheat, and amazed them by bringing horses and cows from New South Wales ; they had never seen an animal bigger than a pig before. Still, the country was disturbed by wars amongst the Maoris themselves ; and once a Frenchman tried to make himself king.

During all these disturbances a few English settlers founded a small colony, and at last, seventy-two years after Captain Cook had first set up the Union Jack on both

islands, an English governor was sent out, and a treaty was made with the Maoris by which New Zealand became part of Queen Victoria's Empire.

The Maoris in New Zealand have become useful citizens (and some of them fine football players !), and they take an important part in the government of the country.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

15. The British Colonies in the New World

George III., 1760–1820. American Declaration of Independence, 1776

§ 1. When George III. became king the Seven Years' War was not yet over, although England's chief conquests in India and Canada were already secure. George III. was impatient for peace, because he wanted to begin his struggle to master Parliament, and he found it very irksome to have a strong and popular minister like Pitt at the head of affairs.

Before peace was made George managed to drive Pitt out of the Cabinet. When this news reached France, a French writer declared that Pitt's fall was as good as two victories for England's enemies. In London men showed their confidence in him by hanging on to his carriage, and even kissing his horses !

In 1763 peace was made, and then George set to work to form a body of supporters in Parliament, who were known as the King's Friends. They were bound to the king by receiving well-paid posts, and were pledged to vote as he wished. George also chose Prime Ministers whom he hoped to control.

Unfortunately George III. had not the gift of understanding great ideas, which Clive had so gladly recognized in Pitt, and danger soon followed when he began to try to make Parliament his servant. If George had understood great ideas, such as the Englishman's readiness to die for freedom, the American colonies might perhaps have remained in the British Empire.

Before the Seven Years' War the colonies had many causes of complaint. Walpole had tried to free their trade from some of the irritating laws which hampered it, but after his fall others were passed. The Navigation Acts kept foreign trade out of their ports by forcing the colonies only to import or export goods which were carried in British or colonial ships. Their manufactures were strictly regulated; they were forbidden to make many things for themselves in order to force them to buy them from England. All this they bore, although they grumbled and tried to avoid buying English goods.



George III. in 1767.

§ 2. George III.'s government now decided to raise a tax from the colonies, in order to make them pay part of the heavy cost which had fallen on England in driving the French from North America and providing an army for the future defence of the colonies against attacks from Indians. So in 1765 the Stamp Act was passed, by which the colonists were ordered to buy special English stamps (some costing as much as £10) to stamp all their legal documents, such as wills and contracts.

The colonies were startled. Hitherto the only direct taxes of this kind had been raised in each colony by its own Parliament. The colonies were willing to make grants of their own free will towards the cost of the war, but the Stamp Act seemed to them to strike at the right which Englishmen had fought for so stubbornly ever since the Middle Ages—that the people should not be taxed without the consent of their representatives in Parliament. The colonies—far away across the Atlantic—were not represented in the British Parliament, and therefore they would

not submit to be taxed by it. Many Englishmen sympathized with them, although they knew it was very doubtful whether the colonies would all combine to tax themselves and pay their share of the cost of the war.

At this time Pitt came down to Parliament, from which he had long been absent through illness, and gathered his strength to thunder against the Stamp Act, and the folly



Frederick North, second Earl of Guilford,
better known as Lord North.

of expecting three million men of English blood in America to submit to being treated like slaves. His eloquence won his cause; the King's Friends were outvoted, and the Stamp Act was repealed.

The king was disgusted; he wished the Americans to learn submission, and evidently believed that firmness was the only thing necessary. Nevertheless he was now willing to make Pitt Prime Minister.

Now many reasonable men in England and America hoped for an agreement, but unfortunately Pitt's health broke down. First he had to give up leading the House of

Commons, and he entered the House of Lords as Lord Chatham; he was no longer the Great Commoner, and soon he had to give up political life altogether. In 1770 Lord North became Prime Minister, and through him George III. controlled Parliament for the next twelve years.

George refused to hear of the repeal of a tax on tea which the American colonists resented. When some English tea-ships entered Boston harbour in 1773, a party of Americans, disguised as Red Indians, boarded them and threw the contents of three hundred and forty chests of tea into the sea! This incident was called the Boston Tea-party, and it led to war.

Parliament sent out troops to enforce penalties in Boston, and the colonists then prepared to resist.

16. The Birth of the United States of America

The American Colonies declare their Independence, 1776

§ 1. The American colonies had a leader whose strength was equal to the great task of defending their liberties. George Washington commanded as much trust and affection in America as Pitt had done in England; he, too, was a man who understood great ideas. He was still young and strong, a man of commanding appearance, six feet three inches in height, and broad-shouldered too. He had made good all through life. Since the age of seventeen he had been employed to survey a great estate in Virginia, and had spent many days and nights in unknown forests, often quite alone. He had fought in Braddock's army* at Fort Duquesne, and warned the English general in vain against the surprise attacks of the Indians whom Braddock despised so much.

Later, Washington became a great landowner in Virginia, where he managed his plantations and his slaves

* See Chapter 12.



The American Colonies.

well and justly, and kept up an active life, riding to hounds like an English squire. He sat in the Assembly (Parliament) of Virginia, where he was a very silent member, but his sound judgment generally settled any difficult question.

§ 2. Now, at the meeting of the second Congress, to which all the states sent representatives, Washington was chosen to be the Commander-in-Chief.

Washington had to make his army first. He had plenty of eager volunteers, but no regular uniforms, and very little gunpowder. He suggested that his first troops should all wear hunting-shirts, so that the men from the thirteen different states would feel themselves one army. Every town set to work to make or collect gunpowder, and meanwhile Washington had to avoid too much fighting.

In the first skirmishes, at Lexington and Bunker Hill, near Boston, the colonists fought pluckily but were worsted. They managed, however, to keep the English forces shut up in Boston all through an anxious winter.

In the spring of 1776 new English armies arrived, including some hired German soldiers, and the struggle began in earnest.

On 4th July 1776 the famous American Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, opening with a statement that all men are created equal, and have equal rights to life and liberty, and a further right of founding or changing their government in order to secure their safety and happiness.

So the spirit of their ancestors, who had made a stand in Stuart England against kings who claimed to rule by Divine Right, showed itself again in the American colonists of 1776. Thirteen years later the Declaration itself was re-echoed in the French Revolution.

Early in 1777 the English planned a threefold attack, by which they hoped to cut off the New England forces from the southern states, and then defeat each in turn, and so end the war. Lord Howe, with a fleet, was to sail to Chesapeake Bay and attack Washington's army, which

was protecting Congress in Philadelphia. Meanwhile in the north General Burgoyne was to make his way from Canada by Lake Champlain to the Hudson River, and a third army was to advance up the Hudson from New York to join Burgoyne. This meeting on the Hudson would



General Burgoyne.

(From a contemporary portrait.)

divide the colonies and prevent their armies helping one another.

Howe succeeded in defeating Washington's little army at Brandywine, and also took Philadelphia ; but Congress had safely withdrawn, and Washington kept his troops, not yet broken, steadfastly waiting for another chance all through a second winter.

Meanwhile in the north the vastness of the field of

war helped the colonists. Burgoyne advanced but slowly, even with the help of Canadian axe-men and Indians. The colonists watched him closely, and the savagery of the Indians steeled them to wait with grim determination for the best chance of striking. Soon Burgoyne had lost his way, his supplies failed, and he could hear no tidings of the other British army which was to meet him. Now the Americans began to close in upon them from every side, and within a few days Burgoyne was forced to surrender with his whole army at Saratoga.

§ 3. The news of this great surrender not only raised fresh hope in the colonists, but it brought them the alliance of France, who now recognized the independence of America and declared war on England.

At home the belief grew that England could never now conquer the Americans; even the king's obstinacy was broken down, and Parliament was now ready to grant all that the colonists had asked at first. All thoughts turned to Chatham (Pitt) as the one man who might still keep the colonies within the empire. When others had been rejoicing over the victory of Brandywine, Chatham had passionately told Parliament: "You cannot conquer America. If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country I would never lay down my arms—never, never, never!" Then he had pleaded that the English should not employ Germans against men of their own blood.

Now Chatham struggled to take the lead once more; but he was a dying man. He entered Parliament for the last time, carried by his servants. This time he came to protest against England's making a cowardly peace in a moment of panic, for this was no longer a war against men of their own race alone. Chatham's strength just lasted long enough to allow him to beg Parliament not to "fall prostrate" before France.

Chatham's appeal, and the fear of a French invasion, gave a new turn to the war.

§ 4. Both France and Spain prepared fleets for war, but at first only a small body of French volunteers under the gallant Marquis Lafayette joined Washington. Meanwhile, in the southern colonies Lord Cornwallis struck boldly, and Washington was not yet strong enough to prevent his conquering North and South Carolina.



Lafayette.

(Portrait by J. D. Court.)

At last a formidable French fleet arrived in Chesapeake Bay, bringing more troops. The main part of the British fleet, under Rodney, had let them slip by while they were capturing war supplies which they found on an island occupied by the Dutch, against whom Britain had declared war in 1780.

Threatened by the French fleet and army, Cornwallis tried to march north to join the other English troops at New York, but he soon found himself cut off on the peninsula of Yorktown (1781), with rivers on two sides of him, the French fleet in his rear, and Washington closing his only way of escape with an army larger than his own. Cornwallis,

like Burgoyne, had to surrender with his whole army.

This was really the end of England's effort to conquer the American colonies. Admiral Rodney defeated and broke the French fleet afterwards in the West Indies, at the "Battle of the Saints" (1782); but the victory came too late.

§ 5. Spain's part in the war was chiefly on sea. Rodney defeated the Spanish fleet at Cape St. Vincent (1780), but

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LORD HEATHFIELD

this did not prevent the Spaniards from renewing the siege of Gibraltar. Here General Eliott made a wonderful defence for three and a half years (1779-82). Twice when the garrison was almost without food British ships broke through with provisions, but only salt meat. A French



Lord Cornwallis.

general, who was with the besieging forces, was so much moved by the thought of Eliott's privations that he sent him a basket of fresh vegetables and fruit! Eliott asked him to send no more presents, as he made it his rule to share everything with his men.

In 1782 the enemy made a final attack with ten "battering-ships," believed to be bomb-proof, carrying heavy guns. Eliott had not many guns, but he fired at the ships with red-hot shot—his men called them roasted

potatoes—and finally eight of the ships were set on fire. At great risk English seamen rescued three hundred enemy soldiers and sailors from drowning. After this, the attempt to capture Gibraltar was given up.

In 1783 peace treaties were signed, and Britain recognized the independence of the thirteen American states.

17. George Washington and the New America

George Washington, 1732–99

§ 1. Now the new nation, the United States, had a great task to face. The colonies had made common cause in defence of their liberties, and hastily adopted a common flag (consisting of thirteen stars and thirteen stripes) for their united army under Washington, but as yet they had no united government. It was hard to form one government for all, for the colonies extended for fifteen hundred miles of land from north to south, and some of them were bigger than the whole of England.

Then, too, the people and their needs and ideas were very different. In the southern states, such as Virginia and the Carolinas, the land was owned by aristocratic families, who lived as much like English squires as they could; they possessed large bands of negro slaves, who worked in their rice, cotton, and tobacco fields, and most of them ruled in a kindly but lordly fashion over their great estates.

The men of the New England states, on the other hand, were descended from the Puritan Pilgrim Fathers, and they were more sober, simple, and industrious in their way of life. The climate was not so warm and rich in these northern states, and the colonists did not need slave labour to reap their crops.

On the west, again, in the states which were spreading towards the Ohio, the colonists had to be fighters first of all, because they had great tribes of warlike Red Indians

always on their borders. They thought the disputes of North and South about slavery a waste of time ; for them the urgent problem was whether white man or red man was to possess the land.

In addition there were many " Loyalists " who had never wanted the separation from England. Many of these settled in Canada, finding their life under the new government of the United States unbearable.

How were the thirteen states, which had hitherto managed their own affairs like thirteen separate countries, to become one nation ?

Some of them were passionately against any form of union. But soon difficulties arose. They could not all make separate treaties of peace or alliance with other nations, such as England and France. England complained that the terms of peace were not kept, and so would not give up positions she held at the end of the war. England was right ; there was no American Government to see that the terms were kept. A greater difficulty was having no central government to raise taxes from all states alike, for such purposes as paying the army. Washington's soldiers were actually disbanded without their pay, and some of them were even forced to turn robbers.

So at last the American states set to work in earnest to turn themselves into a nation. A council, over which Washington presided, sat to draw up a Constitution * for the United States in Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence had been first read and signed. It was the first time in history that rules of government had been drawn up and written down in order to make a new nation : no other country began with a written Constitution.

The men who framed the Constitution were very much influenced by the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, which had stated that all men are born equal and have equal rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and that

* System of government.

governments should not be set up or kept in being without the consent of the people who are to be governed.

The new Constitution left each state free to settle such things as concerned it alone, through its own Parliament; * but there was to be a Congress representing all the states, which was to raise taxes for common expenses, and take possession of any new land that should be conquered or settled. A President was to be elected to act as head of the United States Government; he was to serve for four years only, and to choose his ministers to act under him. There was to be free trade between all the states.

In the states the right of voting was given to almost all grown-up men, and so the new American nation became the *first* democratic † state in the modern world. Religions were also declared equal, and a Roman Catholic became chief judge in America long before Roman Catholics were allowed to take any part in public life in England.

§ 2. One question the states could not settle satisfactorily. They felt ashamed to recognize slavery in a Constitution founded on the declaration that all men have equal rights; yet the Southerners would not give up their slaves. Jefferson, the famous governor of Virginia who had drawn up the Declaration of Independence, had proposed that the negroes should be sent back to Africa and helped to found a republic under American protection. But the Southerners had spent large sums of money on their slaves, and there were not enough white labourers to reap their crops.

So the new America kept her negro slaves, but when, nearly eighty years later, civil war broke out between North and South, the question of slavery came up again. ‡

* The Republicans wanted the separate states to be as independent as possible; the Federalists wanted a strong, united Government.

† *Democracy* means "Government by the people." (*Demos* is Greek for people.)

‡ See Chapter 31.

After this great civil war they became free, but this has made it even more difficult for white men and negroes, with their very different habits, needs, and ideas, to share the same government. To-day, in some of the Southern towns where negroes take part in the town government, they will not vote for laws which the white men think necessary for health and decent living.

§ 3. All the states agreed that George Washington must be the first President of the United States. He alone had both great ideas and the common sense to restrain the jealousies between state and state; they had proved him in war, and now they could trust him to lead them to nationhood in times of peace.

Washington had to think out what the conduct and position of a President should be; there were then no others whom he could study. As a gentleman of Virginia, he had been used to a certain amount of ceremony and lavishness in his household, and he thought that a President should keep up some state in honour of the nation he represented. Accordingly he drove to the Senate or Parliament in a coach with six horses, escorted by servants in livery. When he received guests he bowed to them, but did not shake hands. He wore on public occasions a black velvet suit with gold buckles at the knees and on his shoes, and yellow gloves; he carried a cocked hat with an ostrich feather in it, and wore a sword in a white scabbard.

Nevertheless every citizen was free to visit the President



George Washington.

at his public receptions once a week, or to ask to see him privately.

Washington set his mark on the character of the new America. He felt that as a new nation, in a continent far away from the old nations of history, the United States of America ought to make for itself a new way of life. In his farewell speech to the American people, after he had been President for two four-year periods, he warned them not to let themselves be drawn into the ancient jealousies, ambitions, and struggles of Europe, to keep free from *entangling alliances*.

This has been one of America's first rules ever since. To the nations still struggling with the old problems in Europe, it has sometimes seemed a selfish rule ; America herself did not keep to it when she took her part in the recent Great War. It is, however, one of the things which hold her back from joining the League of Nations.

Her history explains this : she became a nation at a time when Europe was shaken by wars of ambition and conquest one after another, and it was not surprising that she held aloof and determined firmly never to be drawn into those old-world quarrels.

THE ENGLAND OF GEORGE III.

18. "Farmer George" and the Squires

George III., 1760-1820

§ 1. George III. had been born in England in 1738. He was not like his grandfather and great-grandfather, who were always a little sorry that they had to live in England instead of Hanover; he was proud of being an English king.



Farmer George and his wife.

(One of several caricatures of George III. and Queen Charlotte.)

He loved the land like a squire, and wrote for the first paper which was started for farmers, and was sometimes affectionately called Farmer George. When he was older he used often to ride or walk into the country round Windsor, and look in at cottages and farms to chat about animals and crops. Once he went into a cottage and found no one there, but

a joint of meat was hung up to roast on a piece of string. One side was getting burnt, so the king turned it and left five pounds for the woman of the cottage, so that she could buy a jack (the proper thing for roasting meat in front of a fire).

George III. loved English sports too, and could hunt all day without getting tired; but when he came home he did not drink all the evening like most country squires of that

time. He refreshed himself with a little barley-water, and he liked music in the evenings. One of the gentlemen in attendance on the king described ruefully to a lady of the court what a day's hunting with him meant :

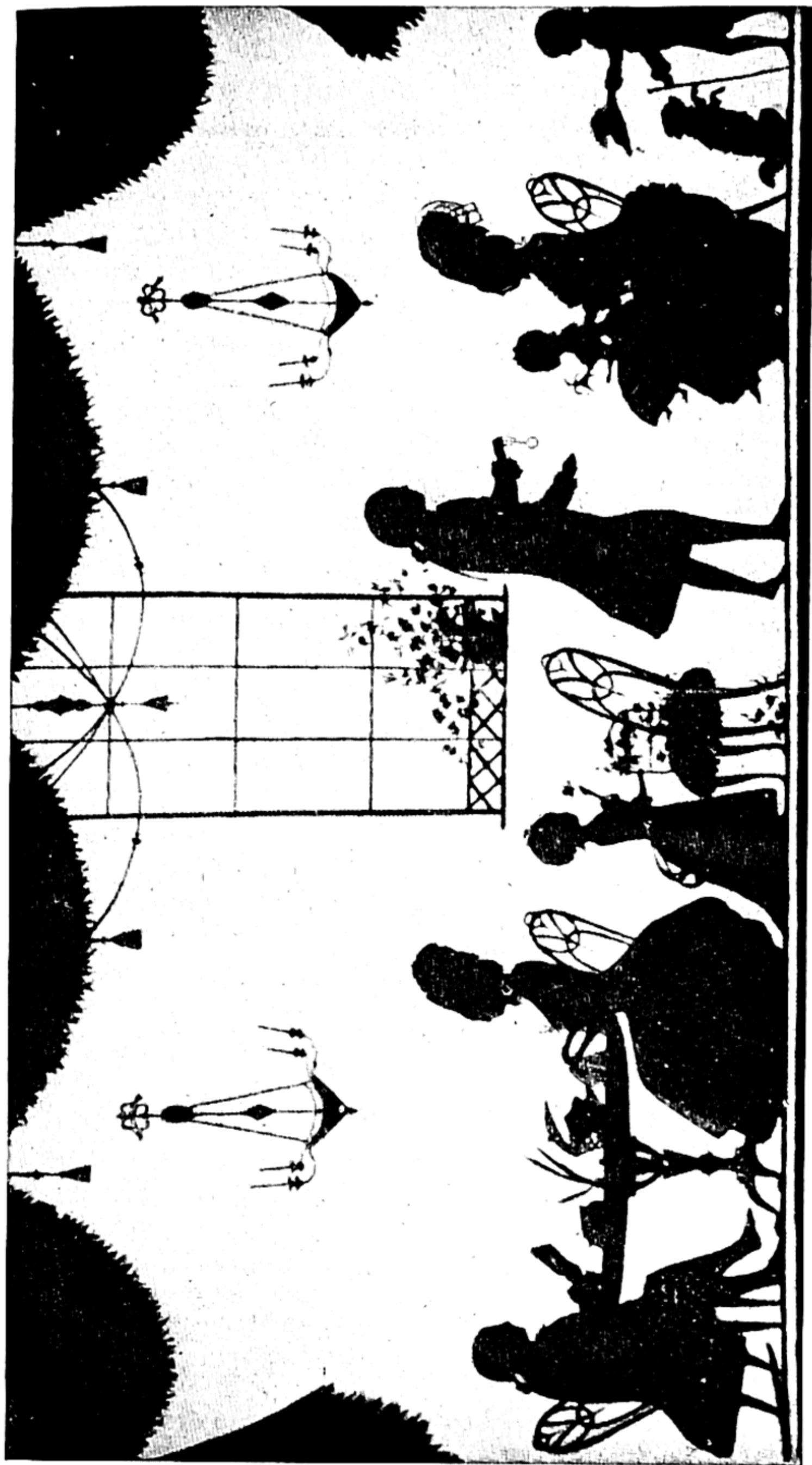
"All the labours," cried he, "of the chase, all the riding, the trotting, the galloping, the leaping . . . wet through overhead, and soused under feet, and popped into ditches and jerked over gates, what lives we do lead ! After all this, fagging away like mad from eight in the morning to five or six in the afternoon, home we come, looking like so many drowned rats, with not a dry thread about us, nor a morsel within us, sore to the very bone, and forced to smile all the time ! After all this, what do you think follows ? 'Here, Goldsworthy,' cries his Majesty. So up I comes to him, bowing profoundly, and my hair dripping down to my shoes. Expecting something a little comfortable, I wait patiently to know his gracious pleasure, and then, 'Here, Goldsworthy, I say !' he cries, 'will you have a little barley-water ?' " *

King George married a German princess who had not been used to gaiety or grandeur, and as Queen Charlotte she ruled her big household in a very orderly way ; no children were more carefully brought up than King George's large family. They rose early in the mornings and attended prayers in the cold chapel ; they had their lessons, and walked and rode ; their dinner was roast beef or boiled mutton or fowls, for the king hated fancy dishes. After dinner there was often a stately walk on the terrace at Windsor with their father and mother, with a band playing, and a number of visitors drawn up to watch them pass, some hoping for the chance of asking a favour.

The above court lady, Fanny Burney (afterwards Madame d'Arblay), the author of a novel entitled *Evelina*, has described one of these processions on the birthday of the youngest of the six princesses :

"It was really a mighty procession. The little princess,

* *The Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay.*



Silhouette portraits of the Sitwell family of this period.

(From a contemporary picture, by kind permission of the owner, Captain Osbert Sitwell.)

just turned of three years old, in a robe-coat covered with fine muslin, a dressed close cap, white gloves and a fan, walked on alone and first, highly delighted in the parade, and turning from side to side to see everybody as she passed: for all the terracers stand against the walls, to make a clear passage for the royal family the moment they come in sight. Then followed the king and queen, no less delighted themselves with the joy of their little darling." *

Then followed the other five princesses, each with her own lady in attendance. The princes were not there; they were soon tired of the strict court life, and gave Queen Charlotte much trouble by their gaieties and extravagance when they grew up.

§ 2. Farmer George was a new kind of king for England, and in many ways a good one; but unfortunately he soon began a struggle to win the mastery over Parliament. He saw how, in his great-grandfather's and grandfather's time, Parliament had become the real ruler of the country, because the first George did not know enough of English affairs to check his ministers, and the second George was quite content to let Walpole govern, and had then been forced by the anxiety and desire of the people to allow Pitt to come into power.

Even as a boy George III. had understood this, and his mother had urged him to be a firm ruler when his turn came. "George, be a king!" were words of hers that he never forgot.

It was a pity, because the English people had fought hard for parliamentary government, and would not go back to the old dependence on kings; but George III. did interfere very much with the House of Commons, and the country was in danger of losing the Constitution, which had just begun to work smoothly.

§ 3. Outside the court, the life of English lords and

* *The Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay.*

ladies and their friends was very gay and extravagant at this time. The English aristocracy* must have felt as if the country belonged to them. The squires and lords owned a great part of the land, and most of the farmhouses and cottages on it.

As magistrates (justices of the peace) they judged the country-people and kept order in the villages. They also filled nearly all the seats in Parliament. They were the richest men in the country (except a few merchants, some of whom brought home fortunes from India), because people had not yet begun to make big fortunes from factories and trade.

The lords spent a great part of their time in London, and never had London been so grand and gay and rich as it was under the Georges.

Men wore wigs or powdered their hair silvery-white, and in the evening they wore suits of velvet or satin or silk in such colours as green, crimson, mulberry, and lavender, with ruffles of fine lace at their wrists, silk stockings, and shoes with gold or silver buckles.

The ladies' dresses were marvels of rich embroidery on satin and silk. There is a description of a dress worn by a duchess in the middle of the eighteenth century, which had pictures of broken tree stumps embroidered all round the white satin skirt, and round each stump were twined flowers worked in bright silks to represent nasturtiums, ivy, honeysuckles, and convolvuluses. The stumps and



Costume, 1760.

* A word which is taken from Greek, and really means 'the rule of the best'; but it has come to mean the families with titles and land.

the leaves were gilded, to look as if they had just caught the sun.

Under such dresses the ladies at one time wore hoops (large round bands), so that their skirts stuck out round them like great balloons. Their heads were powdered, too, and the white curls piled up high with ribbons run through them. Ladies with their heads dressed like this can be seen in some of the portraits by Gainsborough and Romney in the National Gallery.



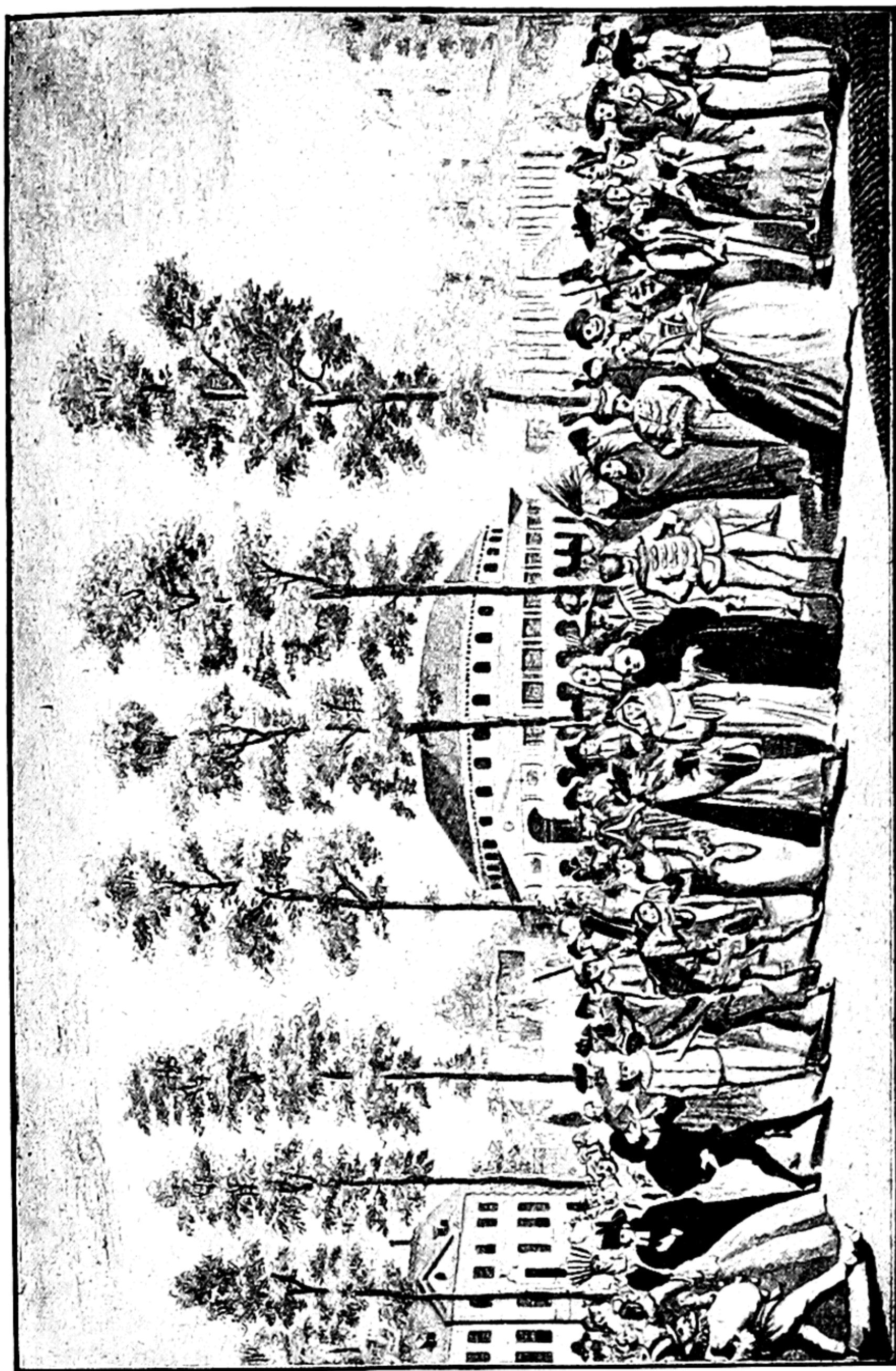
Costumes, 1775.

At last the fashion of wearing the hair high led to ladies having tall horse-hair frames fixed on their heads, and decked with all kinds of ornaments, such as ribbons, feathers, flowers, butterflies, and birds in jewellery and spun glass, and even ridiculous things, such as a model of a sow with her family of little pigs! Then the famous actor, David Garrick, made fun of the fashion by appearing on the stage with his head dressed

as a kitchen garden. He had bunches of carrots and onions twisted into his wig, and wore a tiny rake and hoe, and even a model greenhouse!

19. Town and Home Life in the Eighteenth Century

§ 1. These gaily dressed ladies and gentlemen met each other at dinner-parties and balls, and in the big public gardens where all who paid to go in could sit under the trees, or dance to a band, or watch displays of wonderful fire-



A ball at Ranelagh Gardens.

(Engraved by Parr, after Boitard. From a print in the British Museum.)

works. Those who had the money could take a box, which was like an open-fronted summer-house, and sit eating dainty suppers and drinking wines while they were entertained by a concert. At gardens such as Vauxhall and Ranelagh the lords and ladies and the well-to-do citizens of London met, taking their pleasure.

The lords all had their coaches, with coachmen in front and two footmen standing on the board behind, with powdered heads, cocked hats, and livery suits in their master's special colours. They looked like the coachmen and footmen we still see on the king's state coach when he goes to open Parliament. Others, who could not afford carriages, had "link-boys" to carry torches for them, as it was difficult to pick their way in the narrow, unlighted streets, with uneven cobbles and mud beneath their feet, and foot-pads waiting in dark corners for a chance of robbing some pleasure-seeker on his way home.

Both ladies and gentlemen often rode in sedan-chairs, which were built like small coaches for one; but instead of wheels to run on, they had a strong pole at each side, and between the poles were two sturdy men instead of a pair of horses, one in front and one behind. They shut the lady in, raised the poles, and carried her off.

§ 2. There were then in London many coffee-houses, where gentlemen finished the evening with cards, wine, and talk. Cards and talk filled up many hours, and large sums of money were lost and won at the card-tables.

Good talk was then thought one of the best entertainments to be had, and some of the gentlemen who gathered at the coffee-houses practised themselves so much in saying clever things that they were spoken of as "the wits." People went from one coffee-house to another on purpose to hear this or that wit talking.

But the best talk of all was to be heard where Dr. Johnson and his friends were gathered. Dr. Johnson was not one of the aristocracy; his father was a bookseller at Lichfield, and he himself came to London with only two-

pence halfpenny in his pocket, to try to make his living by writing. With him came another Lichfield boy, David Garrick, who soon became the most famous actor in London. At first Dr. Johnson had to live very hardly; probably he often followed the plan given to him by an Irish painter (who had also struggled to make a living in London), that by



Dr. Johnson and his friends.

Left to Right (at table): Johnson, Reynolds, Garrick, Paoli (Corsican patriot), Wharton, Burke, Burney, Goldsmith.

spending threepence at a coffee-house he might pass several hours every day in very good company. Johnson did manage to keep himself, and also to make a home for more than one poor old friend who had nowhere to live. In time he made the first great English dictionary.

At last Dr. Johnson found himself famous, and, though never rich, he no longer had to write, whether he wanted to or not, to make a living. Then men found out that he was the finest talker in London, and he became one of the

great figures of the time. There are many pictures of this big, broad man, clumsy-looking and ugly, fond of eating, and able to drink sixteen cups of tea at a sitting, and yet such a good friend and fine companion that the most famous men of the day were proud to be with him.

Often he and his friends would gather at the Turk's Head, called a "beef-steak house," and after eating a steaming dish of steak and kidney pudding with mushrooms, they would talk about all kinds of things until late in the evening.

Edmund Burke would be there, the great orator of the House of Commons; and Oliver Goldsmith, who wrote books and plays and poetry; and Sir Joshua Reynolds, who painted so many beautiful portraits of the people of his time, and also pictures most girls and boys know very well, such as that of little Samuel praying in the Temple, and the five cherubs' heads.

So London, when George III. reigned, was full of interesting people, from the honest, hearty king himself to the great dictionary maker, who was the king of good talk.

§ 3. The houses of the later eighteenth century matched the society of the time. Those built for the aristocracy were planned to make as fine a show as possible. There were big, high drawing-rooms and dining-rooms (ladies with hoops needed plenty of space to move about in, and high doors for their head-dresses!), with chimney-pieces and doors carved and ornamented; but the kitchens were hidden away in basements.

Outside London the big town houses were still solid red-brick oblongs facing on to the street. There was usually a porch, not closed in, but supported by two pillars, often fluted. There might be a carved pattern on the front of the porch, and over the door a fan-shaped glass window. Some beautiful doors, porches, and ceilings were made by two brothers named Adam, who also designed carved chimney-pieces and furniture. Sometimes we see an Adam door in a new house now, as people are proud to



LADIES OF THE PERIOD TAKING AN AIRING IN A PHAETON.

(From "The Gallery of Fashion," 1794.)

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buy them if they can find any for sale. Gardens, like dress and furniture, were elaborately planned, and decorated with stone and marble urns and flights of marble steps.

The rich and elaborate dress of the period was matched by furniture of beautiful workmanship. Three furniture makers, whose names will never be forgotten, and whose handiwork is still part of our national treasure, belong to the England of the Georges. First there was Chippendale, who came to London from Worcester in 1727. He had the great art of making furniture of fanciful shapes which was also really strong. Chippendale chairs have curved legs and curved open-work backs, and wide seats (see page 114). He invented the settee—two or three chairs combined in a long seat.



Head-dress,
1782.



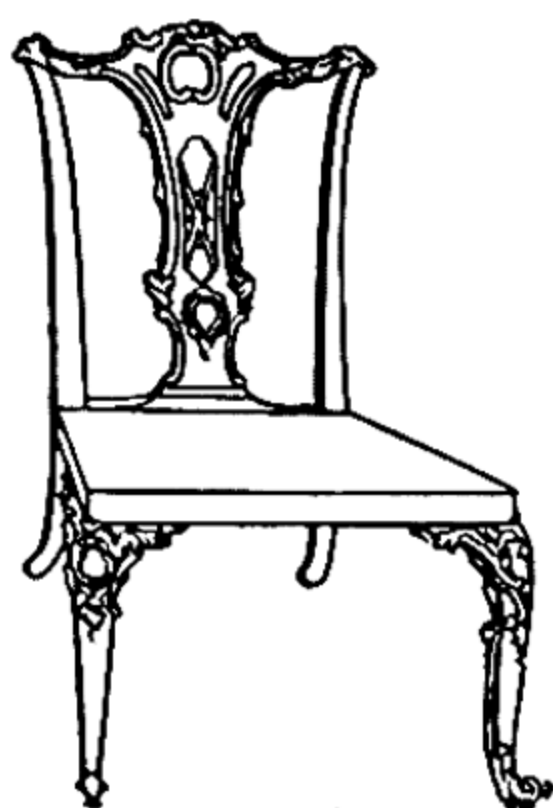
Lady's court dress, 1796.

The next name is that of Hepplewhite, who died in 1787. His work is very delicate—chairs with fluted legs tapering to the feet—and he despised useless ornament, and aimed at beauty of design and shape.

Then came Sheraton, whose work was delicate too, but more ornamental than Hepplewhite's. He made fancy chairs with very slender legs, and sideboards with pedestal cupboards at each side, the doors of which were ornamented with designs, such as representations of elaborate urns.

China was now decorated with designs of this kind too, especially the plates and vases made by Josiah Wedgwood at Stoke-on-Trent.

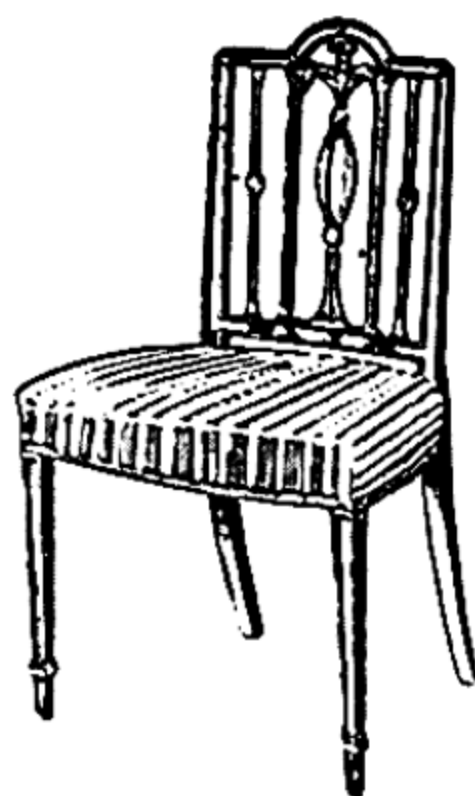
Sheraton's furniture perhaps matched the powdered heads, rich embroideries, and satin coats best of all.



Chippendale chair.



Hepplewhite chair.



Sheraton chair.

Houses for the artisans in towns were built with very little planning, as will be seen later on. In the country, thatched cottages looked pretty, but were often in a tumble-down state.

20. Pitt the Younger: Parliament and Empire

*William Pitt the Younger, 1759 (the year of Quebec) to 1806 **

§ 1. During the War of American Independence it seemed doubtful whether England would be able to knit her conquests overseas into a lasting British Empire, and she was also in danger of losing her free government at home.

George III. almost destroyed the independence of Par-

* REMEMBER: William Pitt the Elder, the Great Commoner, and later the Earl of Chatham, lived 1708-78, and was associated with Clive, Wolfe, Cook, and the American Revolution. His son, William Pitt the Younger, lived 1759-1806, and was connected with Nelson and Napoleon.

liament when his friend Lord North was Prime Minister. Afterwards, when the Whig party was in power, the House of Commons would not always carry out his wishes ; but once he sent a secret letter to the House of Lords warning them that every one who voted for a certain Act would become the enemy of his king. By this means he prevented the passing of the Act.

During the war Warren Hastings had to fight in India against the fierce and lawless Mahrattas and the ambitious native prince Hyder Ali, who had usurped the throne of Mysore. When peace came, both India and Canada sorely needed a better form of government. Nearer home, Ireland was seething with discontent because she was not allowed to sell her cattle in England, and had to pay heavy taxes on all the English goods she bought. After the war, too, trade had to be reopened with the United States, and commerce between England and France, which had been almost killed by war and taxes, had to be revived.

A new spirit was needed to settle all these questions, and already some new ideas, which were considerably to change the world, were beginning to spread. The American Declaration of Independence in 1776 had set forth the rights of man in words which were like a challenge to the aristocratic governments of Europe.

In the same year there appeared an important book, called *The Wealth of Nations*, by Adam Smith. This book showed that, in their greedy scramble for the wealth of the " new " world (the Americas and India), nations had almost destroyed that wealth. They had behaved as if there was just a certain amount of treasure and merchandise, and they must fight for the biggest share. They forgot that trade can grow, if it is encouraged, and so make fresh wealth. Instead of encouraging the trade of their colonies, they almost killed it by refusing to allow them to buy or sell with other countries. If you take away a customer's means of making a good living, he cannot buy much from you !

Walpole had understood this. Now *The Wealth of Nations* taught it to a keen young student at Cambridge,

who was before long to carry out some of Adam Smith's ideas in the British Empire. This student was William Pitt the Younger, the second son of the Great Commoner.

§ 2. William Pitt the Younger had a training which made him fit to be a statesman early in life. He never went to school, but he learnt Latin and Greek at home, and in his father's house he listened to the talk of statesmen until he himself could discuss political questions sensibly even at fourteen. At fifteen he was sent to college in Cambridge, where he continued a serious life of study under a tutor.



Adam Smith.

At the age of twenty-one he entered the House of Commons, and after his first speech a member said to Fox, a clever and experienced politician, that this young Pitt would be one of the first men in Parliament, and Fox replied, "He is so already." Pitt was not so eloquent as his father, and he did not understand so clearly as his father had done what the people of England were thinking; but he was sound and wise in his judgments, and honest and practical

in carrying them out.

Strangely enough George III., although both he and his grandfather had disliked Chatham so much, felt confidence in the young Pitt from the first. Perhaps this was partly because Pitt joined the Tory party. When the Whigs, whom George hated, fell from power, the king asked Pitt to be Prime Minister. Some men said that the king was asking a boy to play at being a minister, for Pitt was only twenty-five; yet in a short time he had the strong support of the Tories in Parliament and of the English people outside, and in addition the king trusted him.

An Act of Parliament had been passed by George III.'s enemies, the Whigs, which checked bribery in the House of Commons, and turned out many of the King's Friends by

forbidding men who held government contracts to sit in the Commons. Now Pitt won back the dignity and independence of the office of Prime Minister, for he was both strong and earnest enough to be the king's adviser without giving way to him in everything.

Pitt tried to reform Parliament further by taking away the right to send members from the small and almost deserted towns, who sold their seats to rich men; but the House of Commons would not pass his Reform Bill.* He also failed to win support for his plan to make trade between England and Ireland free of taxes.



William Pitt the Younger.

§ 3. Pitt succeeded with an India Bill, which placed a Board of Control over the East India Company.† The Board was appointed by king and Parliament, and its president sat in the House of Commons, so that the government of the British provinces in India was no longer left entirely to a company of merchants who were tempted to put profits before justice.

For Canada Pitt carried through an Act by which that country was divided into two provinces, each of which was to have a governor and council appointed by the king, and a representative Assembly (a Parliament). Charles James Fox, who was not of Pitt's party, but who was always on the side of liberty, exclaimed that he was sure

* See Chapter 35 for the great Reform Act of 1832.

† A Regulating Act had enforced some control over the Company in 1773.

that this plan of helping colonies to govern themselves was the only way of keeping them united with England.

With France Pitt made a commercial treaty, by which both countries gave up some of the taxes which stopped them from buying each other's goods. Fox taunted Pitt about this treaty, and said he had forgotten his father's belief that France was the natural foe of England. To this Pitt replied finely : " To suppose any nation can be unalterably the enemy of another is weak and childish."

At home Pitt helped trade by taking off some taxes and making others simpler. The high taxes on goods coming into the country had led to a great deal of smuggling ; silks and wines and other things were secretly brought in by night and hidden in caves, and then sold secretly, too, without paying any tax at all. When there were not such heavy taxes it was not worth while to run the risk of smuggling, and this saved the country much loss.

Trade became so much more prosperous that more money was taken in taxes although the taxes themselves were lower. Pitt believed in Adam Smith's teaching that the way to make a country prosperous is to interfere as little as possible with freedom of trade.

There is a story that when Pitt was Prime Minister he went to a dinner-party at which Adam Smith arrived late. As he came in, Pitt and the other guests stood up. Adam Smith, very much confused, begged them to sit down again, but Pitt replied, " Not until you are seated, for we are all your pupils."

It happened that the parts of Adam Smith's teaching which Pitt tried to carry out in government suited England very well just at that time. Pitt helped English trade and industry to take a leading place in the world, for he became Prime Minister just when England was changing from a nation of farmers and home-workers to one of manufacturers and factory-workers.

21. Changes in Farming and Country Life

§ 1. The great changes in English life which began in the eighteenth century showed first in the villages. In 1688 more than half of the kingdom was moorland, forest, or swamp. In 1724 Defoe found the country busy and the big towns full of people, and the woollen trade was spreading north, so that as many families lived in Yorkshire as in prosperous Devon. Yet in most of the villages which were not near any great town, life was much the same as it had been for three hundred years.

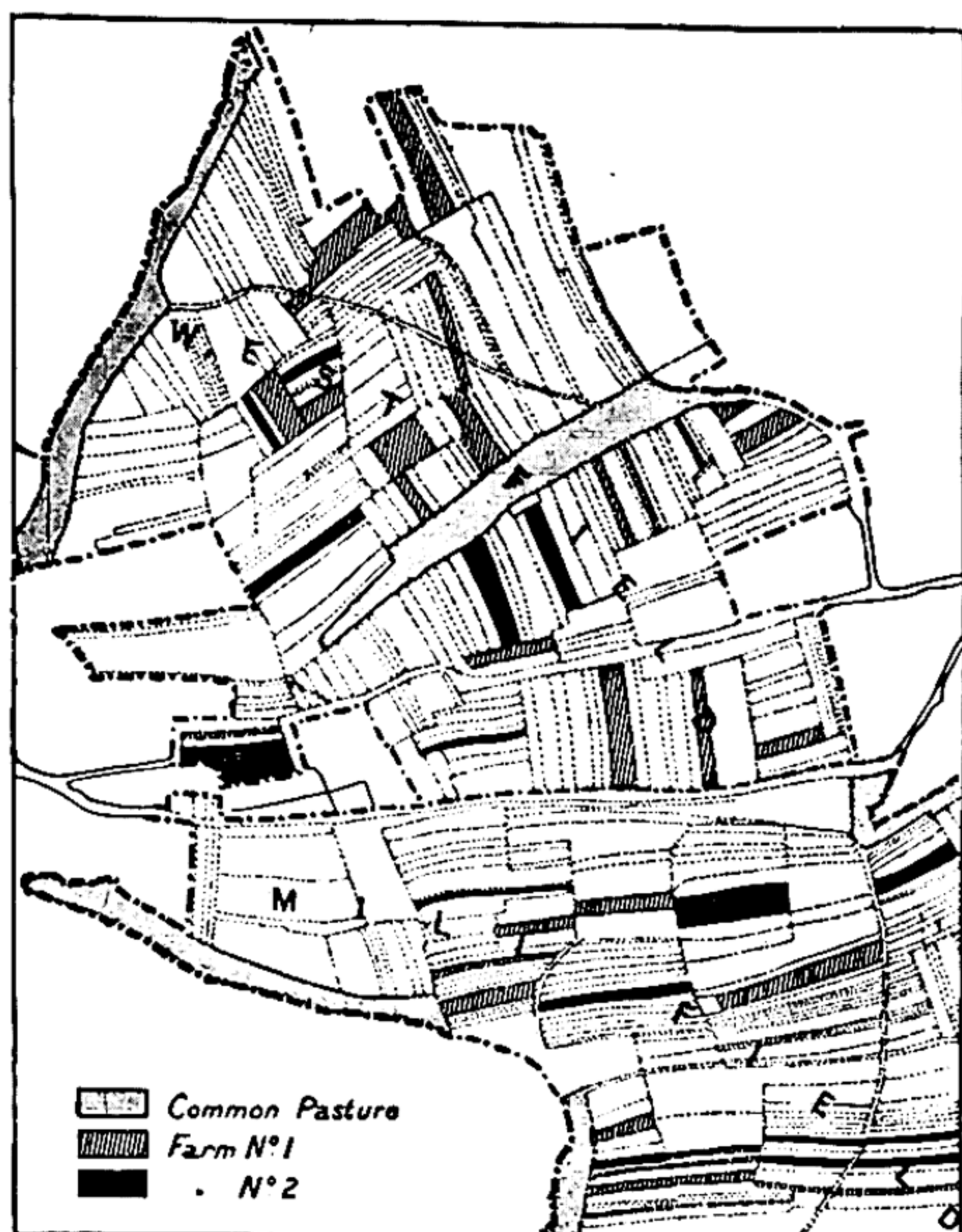
As in the Middle Ages, the land belonged to the lord of the manor (a little later on he was more often called the Squire) and the freeholders of the village. At least half the fields of all the country were open; a large meadow was kept for hay and pasture, and the rest was divided into three big fields, fenced only from seed-time to harvest, one used for corn, one for barley, and a third lying fallow—that is, taking a rest, so that it would raise a better crop the next year. Part of the land was marked off for the lord, and then each of the three open fields was divided into strips, and each villager who was a freeholder or leaseholder * had one or two strips in each field for his own use.

The Manor Court tried to arrange fairly that each man had some of the good land and some of the bad, and very often there was a rule that nobody should have the same strips for more than three years running.

Every one in the village had some share in the land, because, besides the open fields, most parishes had a large village common, where any cottager could keep a cow or a flock of geese. Outside the village, too, was all the land which the people had never tried to prepare for use, which was unfenced and known as the “waste.” Here any one could cut wood for firing, and furze for bedding, and rushes for candles; cows and pigs could be pastured here, too,

* People who had agreed to pay rent for a number of years.

if there was some one to see that they were not lost. Men with no homes sometimes settled on a bit of the waste,



How land was divided before enclosures.

cleared it, and built mud huts, and just managed to make a living with the help of a cow.

So every one could find something to do. The lord and the freeholders would pay for work on their land, and in bad weather the cottagers could turn to the spinning-wheels and hand-loom in their kitchens. It has been called a two-legged life, because the villagers made their living by two

kinds of work. They never need be afraid of unemployment ; but they were afraid of hunger when there was a bad harvest, and when the cattle died because there was not enough food for them in winter.

They were often short of food, because the best could not be made of the land when it was farmed in strips belonging to so many people. Clever or well-to-do men would not spend time and money in manuring, draining, and otherwise improving land which they had to give up in a year or two ; very often their neighbours made it impossible. If a good farmer kept his strips clear of weeds, the seeds from unweeded strips next to his strips soon undid his work. The badly-kept cattle gave diseases to the better-cared-for beasts, and rich villagers sometimes put too many cattle on the land when it was thrown open after harvest, and so all were short of food.

Few villagers had learned to grow turnips and other winter foodstuffs, and so a great many beasts had to be killed and salted after Michaelmas. The " roast beef of old England " was often salt ! A story is told of how on some Scottish farms the cattle were so weak after the winter that they had to be *carried* out of the cow-shed into the field.

§ 2. As the eighteenth century advanced a few great farmers began to improve the methods of working on the land. One of the first was Lord Townshend, who gave up parliamentary life in 1730, and spent his time improving his land in Norfolk. He found it so much overgrown with furze that " two rabbits fought for every blade of grass ! " He had it cleared and marled, and then tried the Belgian plan of growing turnips, clover, and other such crops instead of letting land lie fallow. The use of turnips saved the cattle of England, and this farmer-lord was known as " Turnip " Townshend.

The next improver was Robert Bakewell of Leicestershire. He was born in 1725, when, as Defoe showed, the towns of England were busy and full, but the sheep whose

wool made the living of most people were so bony and scraggy that soon the country would be short of meat. Bakewell set himself to improve the sheep, and to increase only the best kinds. His sheep became famous, and visitors came from all parts of England, and even from Germany, France, and Russia, to see his well-kept farm. They found a big, stout man with a red-brown face, wearing a brown coat and scarlet waistcoat, leather breeches, and high boots. He was much like the figure of a British yeoman on a Staffordshire jug. He welcomed dukes and princes in his roomy kitchen, and he never changed the order of his day, from breakfast at eight o'clock to nine o'clock supper and a last pipe before bed. Robert Bakewell gave Englishmen good mutton and beef.

Another great Norfolk landowner, Squire Coke of Holkham, did much for English farming. He taught farmers to know good seed from bad, and to improve their grass-lands; often he took parties of village children into the fields with him and made them gather different kinds of grasses. He was a very good landlord, and by giving farmers long leases he encouraged them to improve their land. Every year he held a sheep-shearing feast on his estate, and many people gathered to see his farms and discuss the new farming; after a morning spent in examining the land, six hundred people would sit down to a three o'clock dinner every day for a week.

§ 3. As the knowledge of these new methods spread, men with brains and energy were more and more eager to try them, and others saw in the new farming a way of doubling and trebling the value of their land. In many parts of the country they found themselves checked by the custom of open-field farming; where practically the whole parish had to be consulted, it was impossible to make great changes, and few villagers could afford the improvements.

So there was a great movement all over the country to have more land *enclosed*—that is, fenced—so that the owners

could have (and keep) their holdings to themselves and cultivate them in their own way.

Enclosure was good for the land, and England could not have fed her growing population at the end of the eighteenth century—and during the struggle with Napoleon—by open-field farming. But the way the enclosures were carried out caused much hardship and injustice.

The lord and two or three of the freeholders, who had the biggest holdings of land, petitioned Parliament for an Act to permit them to enclose the village fields. Notice of this was fastened on to the church door, but if the villagers wanted to object they had to go to London; and few of them had time, money, or courage enough to make such a journey and speak before members of Parliament.

When an Enclosure Act had been passed, every one had to show his right to a holding of land in writing. Few could write, and in many cases the right had been given

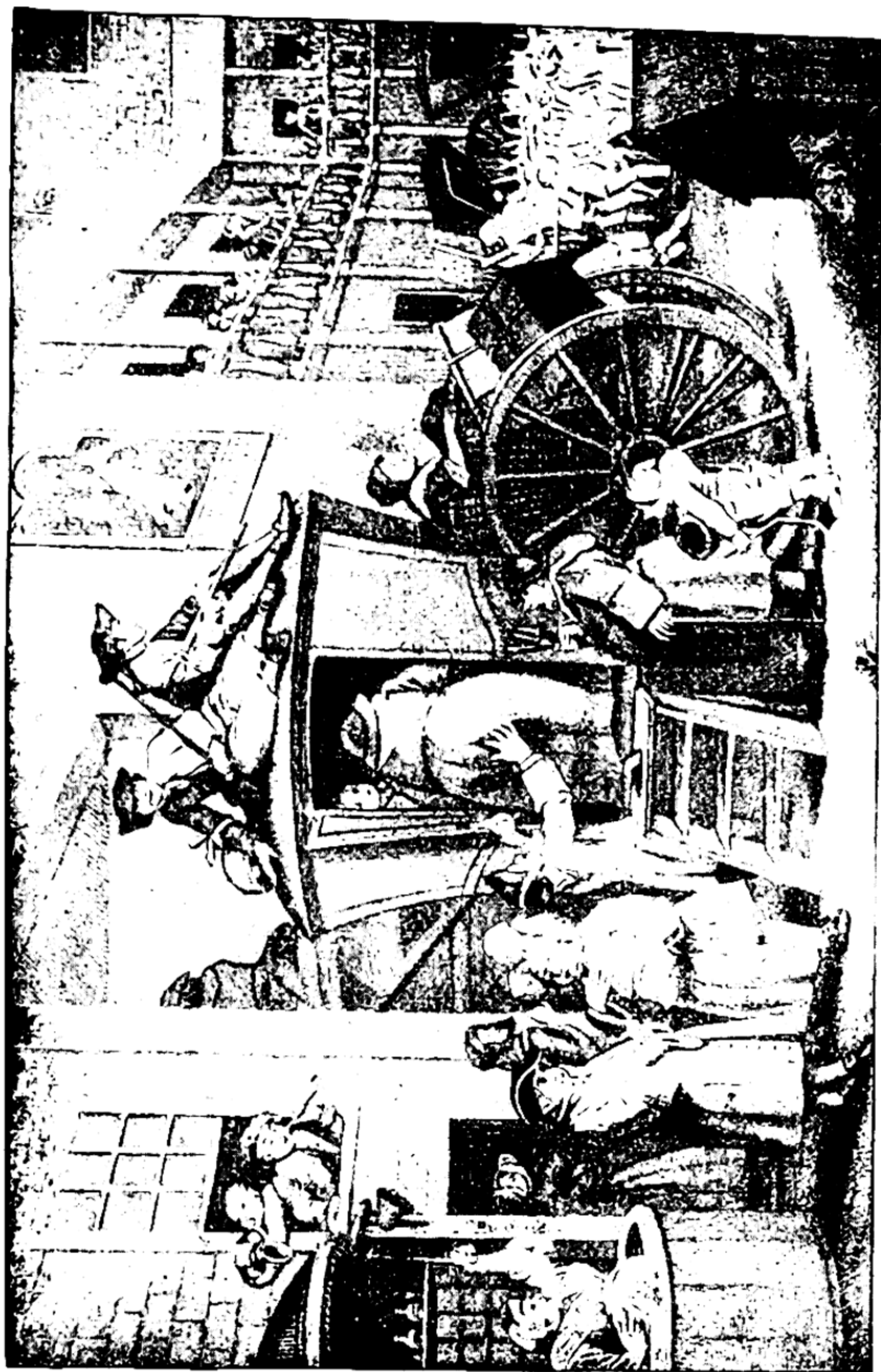
by some lord of the manor, long dead, by word of mouth, and so there was nothing to prove it. Those who did prove their right to a holding were ordered to fence it. Few could afford this, and the bigger landowners, eager to increase their own farms, were ready to buy land from any villager who would sell his holding.

Many sold their land; but there was little for them to do with the money in the villages, so some moved into the towns, and others became hired labourers on the land they had once helped to farm as owner-partners.

Very soon the waste was enclosed too, and at last even the village commons. Some of the waste had to be cleared



Country folk, 1772.



The Country Inn Yard.

(From an engraving after the painting by Hogarth.)

and farmed as population grew, but the enclosure of the commons almost ruined the old English village.

Then there was nowhere to cut wood for firing, and nowhere for cottagers to keep a cow, a pig, or a flock of geese. It is sad to read of the punishment of villagers who cut pieces out of the new wooden fencing on dark nights because they had nothing to make a fire with. Coal was scarcely used then, as it could only be moved about in baskets slung on each side of a horse's saddle, and a horse could not carry more than 280 lbs. at a time.

No wonder a poor old woman, on hearing men talk of Parliament, exclaimed: "All I know of Parliament is that I once had a cow, and an Act of Parliament has taken it from me." There is an old rhyme which expresses the same feeling of injustice, softened by a touch of humour:

" The law locks up the man or woman
Who steals a goose from off the common,
But leaves the greater villain loose,
Who steals the common from the goose ! "

The commons had, no doubt, enabled some cottagers to live an idle, thriftless kind of life by keeping a few half-starved beasts, but it was a cruel blow to country life when they were enclosed.

It so happened that during George III.'s reign the towns began to need more workmen, because new machines had been made which could only be worked in big mills, and many country-bred people found work in the growing manufacturing towns.

So England began to change. Orderly fences and hedges grew up round the fields, and where there had been a little cluster of mud-built cottages thatched with straw a substantial farmhouse would rise, as if it had swallowed them. Meanwhile the towns grew bigger, and the noise of machinery began to hum through the land, and the newly enclosed farms were better able to feed the rapidly increasing town population.

22. Britain becomes the Workshop of the World

The "Flying Shuttle," 1733 ; the First Factory Act, 1802

§ 1. Until the eighteenth century industry was chiefly carried on by home-workers. In those parts of the country which were not near any town where there was a cloth-market, families were busy enough raising their own food and spinning and weaving the cloth for their dresses and coats. All England was dressed in homespun then, whereas now homespun (or hand-woven) tweeds are a luxury which only the rich can afford.

In prosperous households, such as Defoe visited in Yorkshire in 1724, the master clothiers employed several young men to help in the manufacture of cloth, who lived with the master's family, just as apprentices used to live with master craftsmen in the towns while they learned to make shoes or locks.

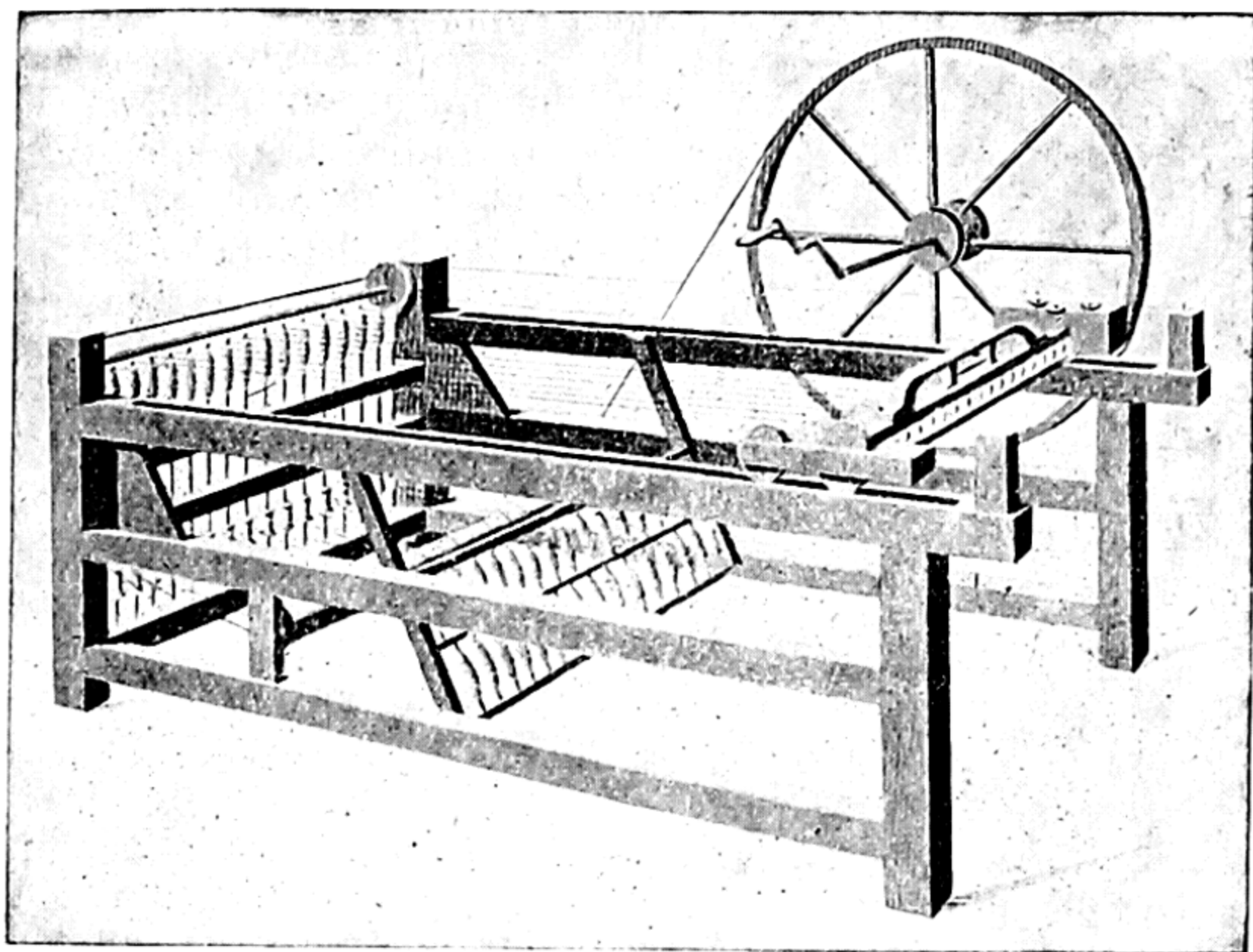
Early in the eighteenth century more and more people began to make cloth to sell. At first weavers tramped three or four miles collecting warp and weft from spinsters for their day's work. But soon travelling merchants began to make rounds with pack-horses, selling prepared wool to spinsters and yarn to weavers, and calling again to buy what they had made. Other manufactures besides wool were carried on in this way. In Staffordshire and Worcestershire merchants sent out nail-rod iron to the nail-masters—who worked at home with their families—and collected the nails they made every week.

In time this method of employment became difficult ; the home-workers were sometimes kept idle for want of materials, and the merchants wasted a great deal of time leading pack-horses along roads which were like narrow ditches. So the merchant began to persuade scattered workers to come together and do their work in one big

room, where he provided machines and materials. In this way factories of a simple kind began.

§ 2. The dissatisfaction with old ways led to a new interest in machinery and new inventions.

John Kay invented a "Flying Shuttle" (1733), which



The Spinning Jenny.

weavers could shoot across the loom by pulling a string, instead of passing it from hand to hand. Now the weavers worked so much faster that the spinsters could not keep pace with them, and they were soon short of yarn.

This led James Hargreaves to experiment with the spinning wheel, and he soon invented a "Spinning Jenny" (1764), which enabled one spinster to do the work of eight ! The jennies were not too big for cottage kitchens, and they made the home-working spinsters very prosperous.

The next of the great inventors began the change in the whole system of industry which took away the living of the home-worker and drove families into factories.

Richard Arkwright was a clever, ambitious man, who started work as a barber in Lancashire. At one time he rode about the country persuading farmers' daughters and village girls to sell him their hair. He would clip it, pack his saddle-bags full, and then take it to the fashionable

wig-makers! Arkwright began to experiment with rollers for spinning, improving plans which other inventors had left unfinished. He had to face distrust and anger at home and outside. His wife burned one of his machines, and once angry workmen, who thought the machine would take away their employment, wrecked everything in his house and drove him from home.



Richard Arkwright.

Arkwright persevered, and he took out a patent* for his "Water Frame" (1769). The newest thing about this machine was that its rollers were worked by the force of water. On this

account it could not be used in cottages, and Arkwright built mills where a number of his machines were worked by water. These frames were not so heavy and elaborate as spinning jennies; children could work them. Yet the yarn they turned out was both finer and stronger than any that had yet been made, and it enabled English people to make pure cotton stuffs for the first time.

Then Crompton invented a machine which was called a "Mule" (1779), because it was a mixture of a spinning

* An order from Government granting the right of making a certain thing to one man only.

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THE HALFPENNY SHOWMAN.

(*W. H. Pyne: "The Costume of Great Britain," 1808.*)

"A travelling halfpenny showman, many of whom may be seen at country statutes or fairs. They walk all over England with their exhibitions on their backs." (The interior would be fitted up with pictures and figures, and some included puppets worked by springs or strings, like a Punch and Judy show.)

jenny and a water frame (as a mule is a mixture of a horse and a donkey!). The Mule was sometimes called the muslin wheel, because it made it possible to produce fine muslins.

In 1785 Arkwright's patent rights came to an end, and so any one could make water frames. The factory system and the cotton industry began in earnest.

§ 3. The period of the use of water-power had special characteristics. Mills began to rise by the side of lonely streams in the hilly north, but there were no workers in these parts, and so mill-owners took parties of children from the workhouses, who were apprenticed to them for seven years. These poor children worked fourteen or sixteen hours a day; often they were fed by the overseers (with bread and fat) as they worked, so that no time should be lost. The children who had worked all day tumbled into the beds of straw and black blankets which the children who were to work all night had just left. On Sundays they walked weary miles to church, or else spent half the day cleaning the machinery. In 1802 the first Factory Act made life a little less hard for some of them.

Very soon the cotton industry, which the new machinery developed fast, began to rival the great wool trade. Cotton mills sprang up in Lancashire, where the moist climate was good for the industry and there were plenty of streams. Manchester, which Defoe had described in 1727 as "one of the biggest villages in England," became a great cotton city, and Liverpool a thriving cotton port.

Soon Bristol and Norwich lost their pride of place as the greatest cities after London, for the cotton towns outstripped the wool towns in their rapid growth. In time the woollen industry also moved north, and Bradford in Yorkshire took the place of Bradford in Wiltshire as the chief of the "woollen towns."

23. The Grand Alliance of Coal, Iron, and Steam : how James Watt set them to work

Watt's Steam-engine, 1765 (the Year of the American Stamp Act)

§ 1. It was not cotton and wool alone that brought about those great changes in England which are often described as the "Industrial Revolution." In the middle of the eighteenth century coal and iron began to stir the country, like two giants who had been slumbering underground and now burst out and made the north shake and blaze with mines, forges, and foundries.

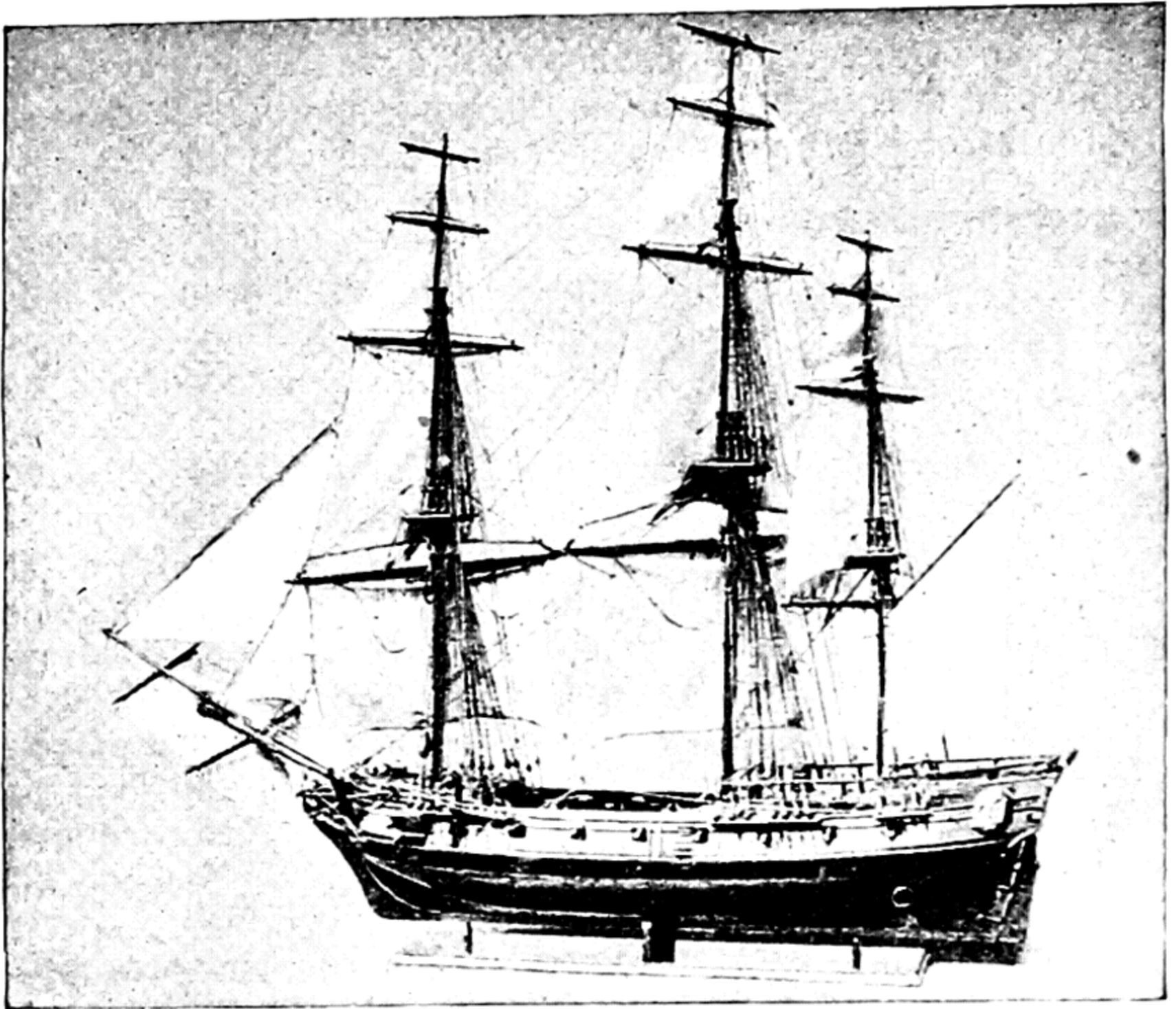
The use of iron had been restricted because it had to be smelted to extract the metal from the ore, and so far the only fuel found suitable for the smelting furnaces was charcoal. A great many trees were used to get charcoal, and in Sussex whole forests were cut down. The Sussex iron-foundries produced some fine metal work. Soon, however, Parliament had to forbid the cutting down of these forests for any purpose but shipbuilding, as England must be sure of material for her wooden walls or "Hearts of Oak," as the ships were called.

Then experiments were made in smelting iron with coal. Abraham Darby, of Coalbrookdale in Shropshire, worked for success day and night, and at last he was rewarded. He is said never to have left the bridge of his furnace for six days and six nights during a great experiment, and when at last molten metal flowed out, the shock of joy made him collapse, and his men had to carry him home to rest.

Others pushed the experiments farther and farther, and the new demand for coal caused fresh activity in mining, and so the Black Country came into being round Birmingham and round Sheffield.

§ 2. Now that iron and steel were conquered, heavy machines and engines could be made, and it seemed absurd

to rely on water-power (always uncertain) and the strength of man's arms to drive them. The roaring blast furnaces seemed to suggest that more use might be made of the power of coal. The man who was to set steam to drive engines



English sloop-of-war (1780).

[Model of a ship-rigged sloop carrying 18 six-pounders and 125 men. A sloop-of-war was a vessel with 4 to 18 guns, used against privateers or in the prevention of contraband trade.]

(Science Museum, South Kensington.)

was walking on Glasgow Green one Sunday afternoon in 1765, brooding over this problem, when he suddenly saw how it might be done ; but he had years of weary and anxious labour before success. This was James Watt.

James Watt had been a delicate boy with scientific tastes ; he began to make mechanical models at thirteen.

and he mastered three languages in order to read foreign books on science. When he was twenty-two, a master manufacturer, who wished to consult him, remarked, "I expected to meet a workman, but I found a philosopher."

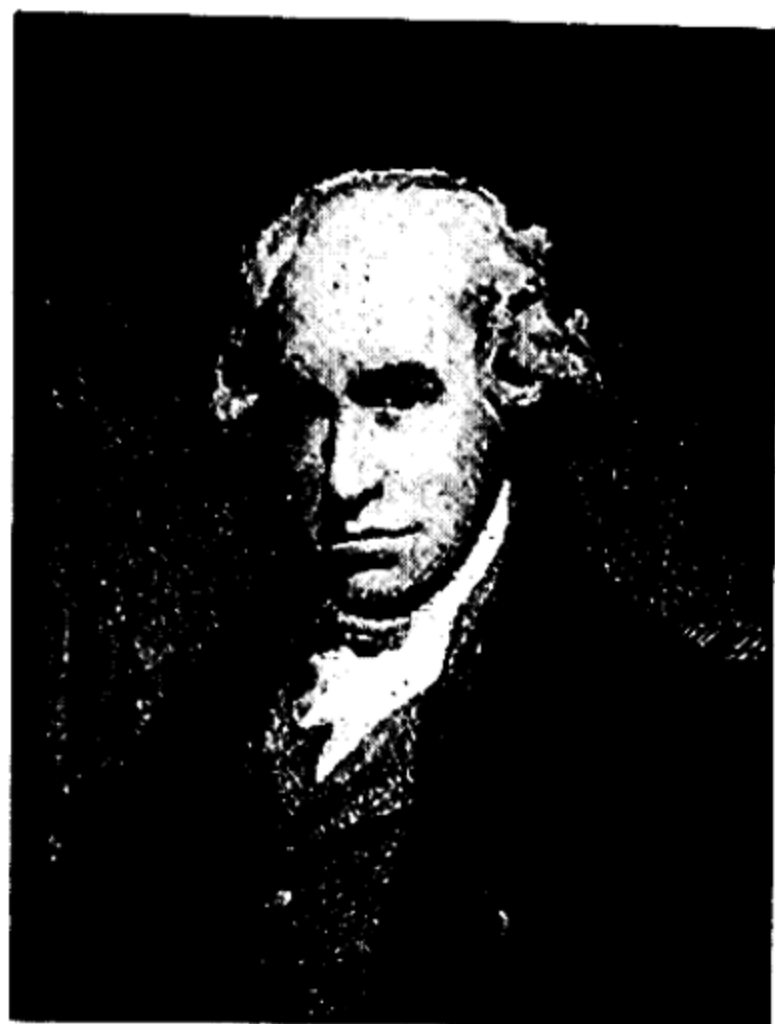
Watt's profession was the making of scientific instruments, and he worked for Glasgow University. One day a model of a steam-engine made by Newcomen (such as were then in use for pumping in mines, and known as fire-engines)

was brought to him for repairs. He saw how clumsy, wasteful, and feeble the action of this engine was, and from that moment he never rested until he had discovered a really scientific method of using steam to drive engines.

Watt's experiments soon left him heavily in debt, and he was at this time earning only thirty-five shillings a week. Fortunately the master of the Carron Iron Works, in Scotland, became interested in the steam-engine, and asked Watt to continue his work there. The difficulties were very great: scientific work re-

quires that every part of a machine should fit its place exactly; but there were then no trained mechanics to make parts for Watt. When most things were made by hand, not even two nails or screws were exactly alike, and poor workmanship hindered the inventor sorely.

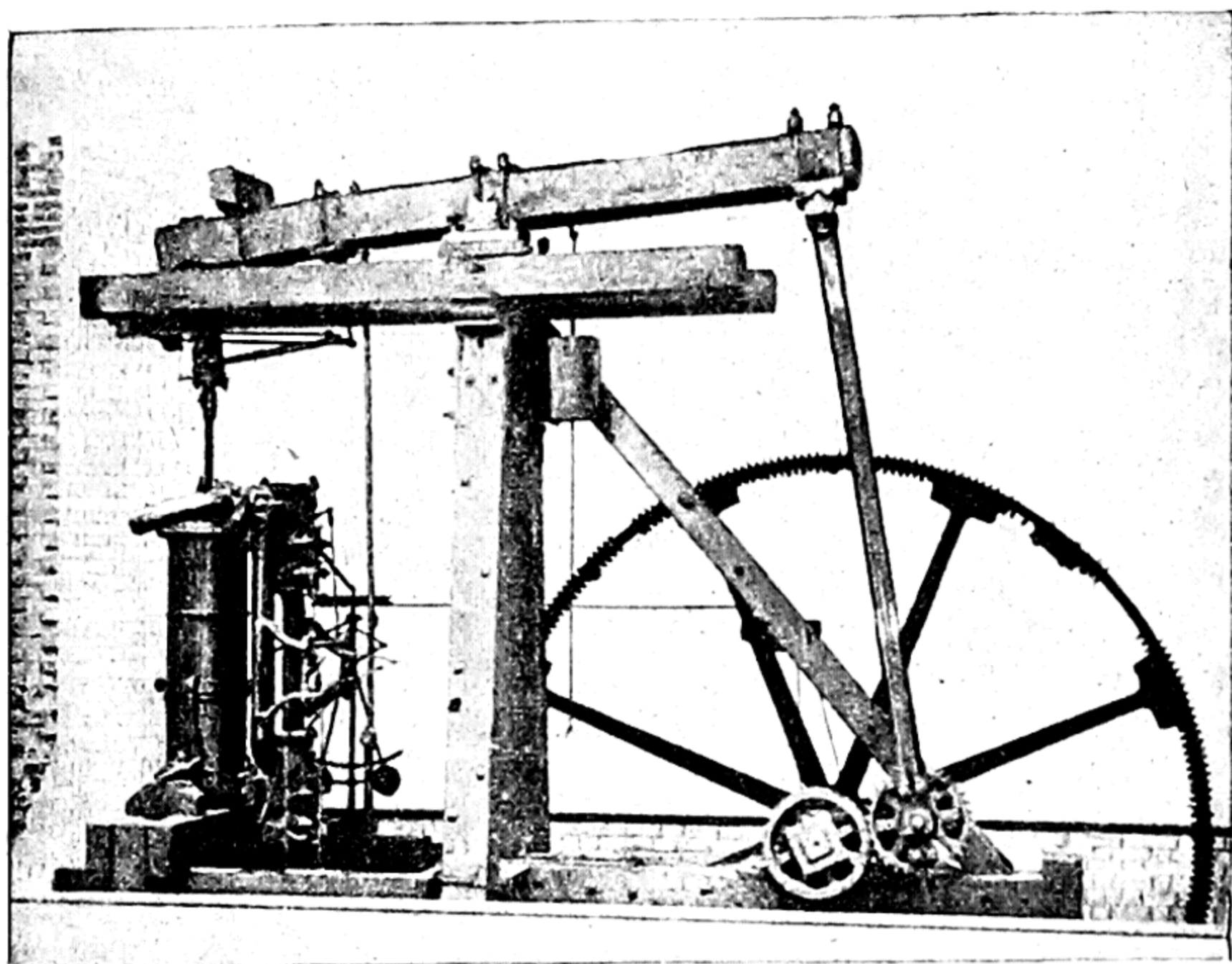
Soon his patron, too, fell into debt. But this turned out to Watt's advantage, because he and his noisy, spitfire engine (known as Beelzebub to the workmen!) were moved to the Soho Works at Birmingham, where he found a new partner. This was James Boulton. He was rich, he trained workmen better than any one else in England then, and he never lost heart. He too lost a great deal of money on



James Watt.

Watt's experiments, and Watt became so dispirited that he wrote: "Of all things in life there is nothing more foolish than inventing;" and another time: "I cannot live in such a state of anxiety."

Yet the cheery Boulton would not allow him to give up.



Watt's rotative engine.

[Early example of James Watt's double-acting rotative engine, with separate condenser and air-pump; erected in 1788 at Boulton's Manufactory, Soho, Birmingham, and known as the "Lap" engine because it drove machinery for lapping or polishing steel ornaments.]

(Science Museum, South Kensington.)

He longed to see the Soho Works run by steam-power, instead of the clumsy method of having a monster tank of water worked by a wheel. Boulton was such a good manager that when he sat in the midst of his works, with hammers and engines clanging on every side, he knew by the smallest change of sound whether anything was wrong.

When the steam-engine began to succeed, other employers tried to entice away the workmen Boulton had trained so patiently. The Empress Catherine of Russia offered a very big salary to Watt himself if he would go and work for her! He refused, although he was then earning only £350 a year.

At last success really came, and Watt's engines were ordered for mines and works all over England; for sawmills in America, waterworks in Paris, sugar mills in the West Indies, paper mills and flour mills; and in 1785 one was set up in a silk mill at Macclesfield. Soon cotton mills were all worked by steam. Watt wrote more cheerfully now; he told Boulton how the violence, speed, and horrible noise of the engine delighted the Cornish miners! "All London and Manchester," he said, "are steam-mill mad."

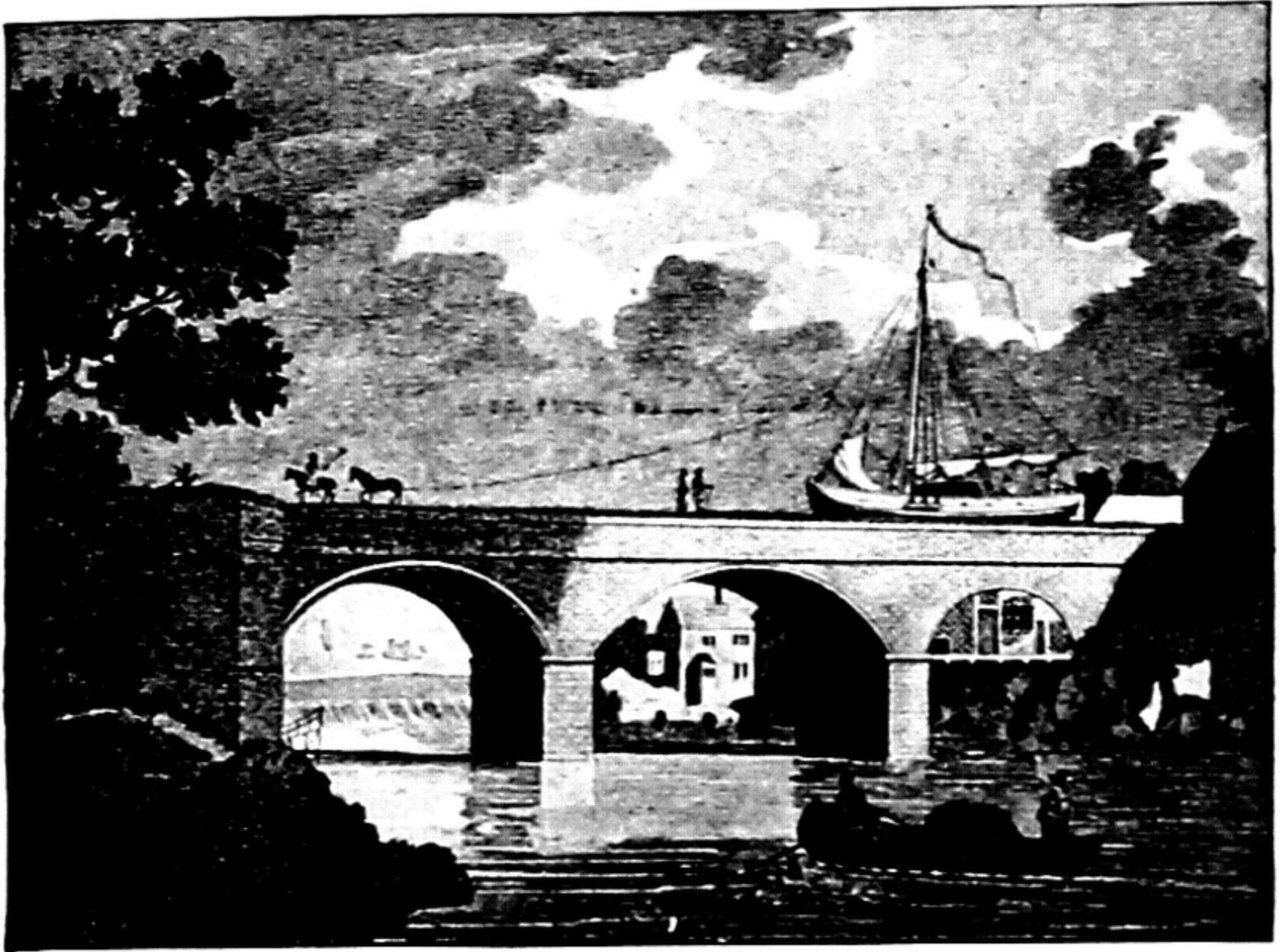
Boulton and his clever workmen used the new invention for one thing after another. Boulton first milled coins round the edges for the Mint; the Soho Works at Birmingham were the first buildings to be lighted by gas.

§ 3. All this development of industry could not have taken place if manufacturers had still depended on the strength of men and horses for moving everything about. Up to the early years of George III.'s reign roads had been like ditches, where horses sank up to their sides in mud.

The horses laden with baskets of pottery often broke all they carried by bumping up against the banks on each side of the track. A story is told of how a stag, hounds, and huntsmen all leapt from field to field across a loaded wagon in one of these sunken roads! After 1760 some fine engineers improved the roads: the name of one, Macadam, is still to be found in English dictionaries because roads made with broken flints of similar size are called "macadamized" roads, but roads of this kind were not made until very near the end of George III.'s reign (1820).

In 1784 the first mail-coach left London, carrying letters, parcels, and passengers to Bristol.

Canals were also made to link up all the big towns, and heavy goods were moved by water. Canals had their heroes as well as coal, iron, and steam. One of them was Brindley, a workman who never even learned to spell



View of Barton Aqueduct in 1761.

navigation,* but who took a canal over the Irwell by means of Barton Aqueduct. When he was explaining this plan, another engineer began to laugh, and said, "I've heard of castles in the air, but I've never before been seriously consulted about building one!"

Now England could fairly be called the "workshop of the world," for all other nations had to get their engines from Boulton and Watt, and their iron and steel from the

* It varies from "novocion" to "novogation" in his accounts.

Black Country, until they had learned—as they did after the fall of Napoleon—the secrets of manufacturing for themselves. English cotton goods, too, went all over the world, and English workers and their children crowded into the new factories and worked fourteen hours a day.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON

24. The French Revolution : the First Stage

*The French Revolution begins, 1789—" Liberty,
Equality, Fraternity ! "*

§ 1. During the Stuart period in England Parliament made a great stand against the Divine Right of kings, and became itself the strongest power in the land. During the same period in France, Louis XIV., the " Grand Monarch," was making good his proud boast, " *I am the State.*" He meant that his people had no need of Parliament or ministers, for their king was their lawgiver and their governor.

France was divided into a number of provinces, and for a time each province had not only its own little Parliament, but also sent representatives to the States-General, which was the Parliament of France. Louis's father had summoned the States-General in 1614, but after that it was not allowed to meet again for more than a hundred and fifty years ! Many of the little Parliaments had already been suppressed.

The two kings who followed Louis XIV. believed just as firmly in their Divine Right to rule, without any checks from law or Parliament, and the splendid palace at Versailles was the scene of more luxury and extravagance than any other court in Europe.

The nobles, as well as the king, seemed to think that

they had a divine right to be supported by the people. By the custom of centuries the French were divided into three classes or estates: the first was the higher clergy,* the second the nobles, and the third estate was the rest—the professional and working men. The first two estates had special privileges: they were free from almost all the taxes, and only nobles could be judges or officers in the army, or hunt, or keep pigeons! So the third estate had to pay most of the taxes; this meant that the men who did the work of the country had to pay for the idleness and luxury of the court and the nobles.

In England only the eldest son of a lord becomes a lord too, but in France every child of a nobleman was noble, and had the same rights and privileges as his father. On their estates in the country these French nobles still had old feudal rights over the peasants.

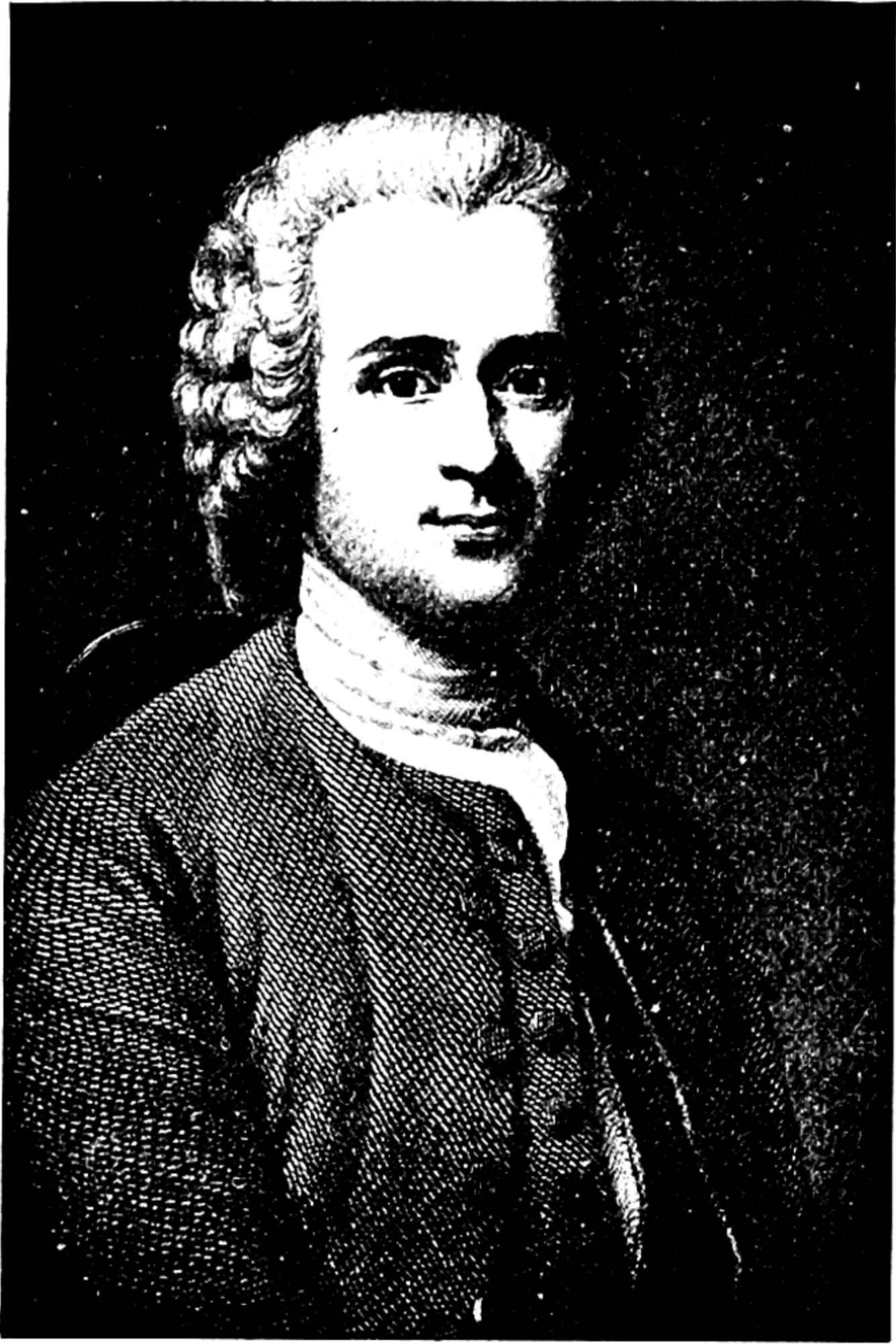
A peasant had to pay his lord for permission to buy and sell, to reap his own harvest, and gather his own fruit. He had to give his labour free for making and repairing roads, for tilling and harvesting on the lord's land so many days a year, and even for such purposes as beating the marshes at night to keep the frogs quiet if they disturbed the lord's sleep! He was not allowed to kill the boars, hares, and pigeons that ate his crops.

To add to the burdens of the third estate, the provinces collected taxes on goods which crossed the boundaries from one to another; and there were many other burdens which fell particularly upon the merchants and tradesmen of the country districts, and upon the workmen in the towns.

No wonder this state of affairs became unbearable, and at last the French people rose in rebellion. When the Revolution came, it was far more terrible and cruel because it had been delayed so long.

Many of the people of France must have been influenced by the stirring words of the American Declaration of Independence, claiming liberty and equality as the rights

* This estate did not include the parish priests in the villages, who were hard-working and poor.



Jean Jacques Rousseau.

of all men. A young French noble, the Marquis de Lafayette, fought beside Washington, and came home fired by the ideal of liberty. Washington often wrote to him about the new American Constitution.

Great writers, too, like Rousseau, had been preaching

liberty and equality in France, and teaching that government should be the servant of the people ; when it became a tyrannical master, they had the right to rebel.

In another way, too, the War of American Independence led indirectly to the French Revolution, because it left France very short of money, and still more taxes had to be raised.

§ 2. The king at this time was Louis XVI. He led a quiet life, and was most happy when he could slip away to his private workshop and occupy himself in making locks ! He was, however, determined not to forgo his "divine right to rule" by summoning the States-General, and he was afraid of offending the clergy and the nobles. He did appoint two good ministers, who tried to put the finances of the country in order ; but each in turn became unpopular with the nobles, and then Louis dismissed them.

Meanwhile the beautiful young queen, Marie Antoinette, amused herself with splendid balls, and in laying out an elaborate playground in the great gardens of Versailles, where she had a model dairy, and she and her ladies played at being dairymaids.

The starving people grew more and more bitter. Some of the judges and law courts dared to make protests and refused to accept the king's laws. The king used his right of having them arrested and kept in prison without trial ; many people had disappeared in this way during the last hundred years and had never been heard of again. Now, however, the people became so threatening that Louis was at last obliged to summon the States-General.

§ 3. It was opened in 1789, with a grand procession. The king and queen led in robes of state, then the cardinals in their scarlet, the nobles in gold embroidery, feathered hats, and jewelled swords, and then the third estate, who had received orders to be dressed soberly in black. Yet, as a French priest wrote, many must have asked themselves : "What is the third estate ? Everything. What

has it been in the political order up to the present ? Nothing. What does it ask ? To become something."

The clergy and nobles tried to manage the States-General in such a way as to make the third estate powerless, and at last they had them locked out of the hall where they met. Then the third estate gathered in a large tennis court and swore solemnly that they would not separate until they had given France a Constitution. After this "Oath of the Tennis Court" the third estate called themselves the National Assembly, and began to make laws.

Now Louis was persuaded by the queen and the nobles to send for troops to overawe the National Assembly. This enraged the people of Paris so much that they began to collect arms and gather in the streets with them ; suddenly some one raised the cry, " To the Bastille ! " The Bastille was a large prison-fortress in the heart of the city. Before nightfall a yelling crowd had stormed it and set free the prisoners. When Louis heard of these outbreaks of violence he exclaimed, " This is a revolt." " Nay, sire," said the messenger, " it is a revolution."

The French dated their freedom from the storming of the Bastille on 14th July, and that day became a national holiday. The key of the Bastille was afterwards entrusted to Tom Paine,* an English working man who had played a notable part, on the Independence side, in the American war ; he was to take it to free America as a gift from liberated France.

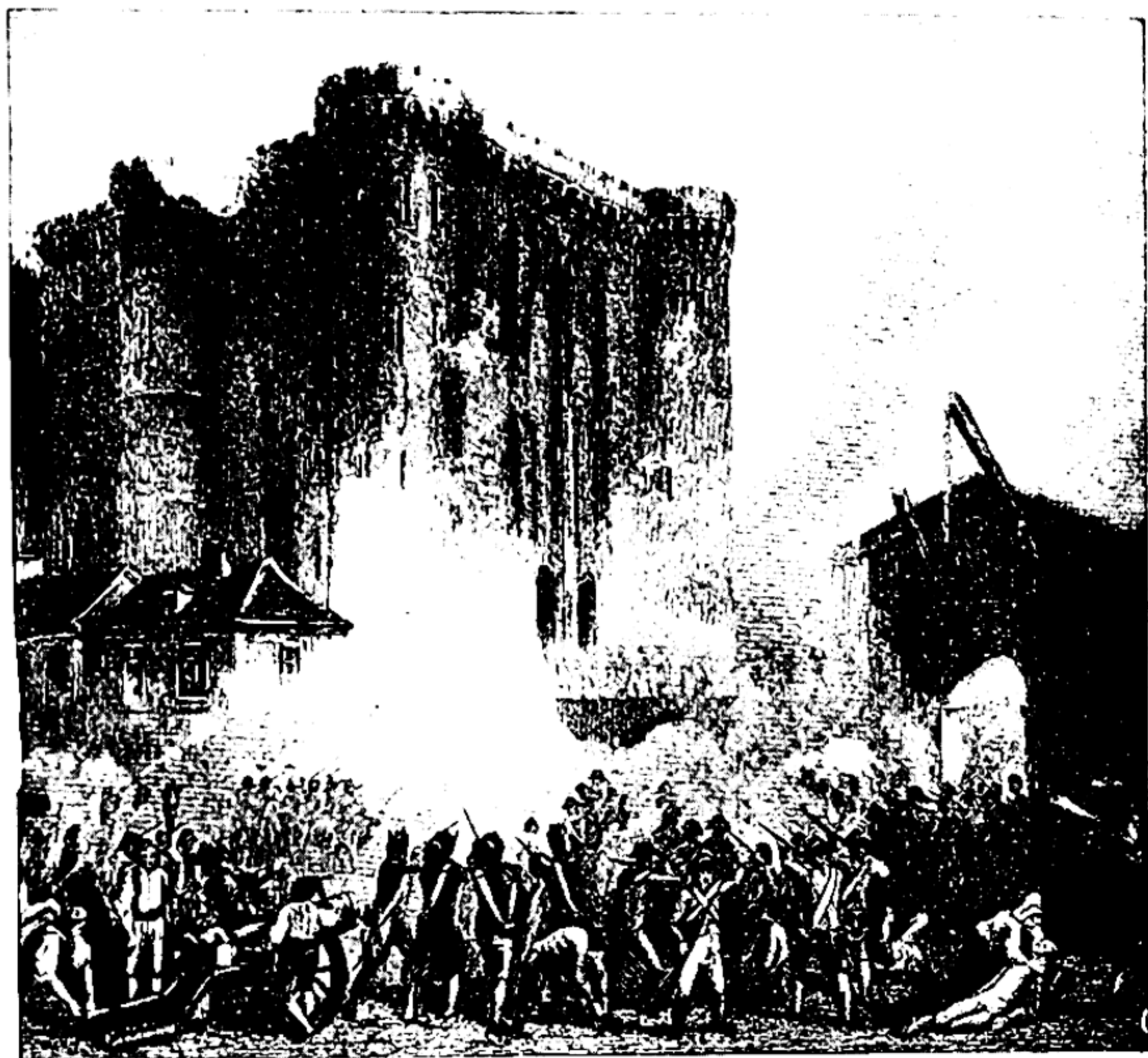
Then two nobles came forward to help the revolutionaries. One was Lafayette, who became commander-in-chief of the new citizen army, called the National Guard. He rode about on his famous white horse, and became very popular. The other was Mirabeau, who took the lead in the National Assembly.

§ 4. The Assembly now abolished all rank and all privileges ; no one was to be more or less than a citizen.

* See Chapter 26

Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were proclaimed as the watchwords of Free France, and the tricolour—white, red, and blue—as its flag.

In the country the peasants burst into the castles and fine houses, and destroyed all the papers that recorded the



The attack on the Bastille, July 1789. (See page 141.)

lords' rights over them, and often robbed and burned as well. They took possession of the land for themselves.

In spite of fine proclamations Paris was starving, and the people were convinced that only the king had wealth enough to feed them. So a crowd marched to Versailles, angry and threatening, and broke into the palace. The arrival of La-

fayette calmed the mob, and he led first the king and then the queen to a balcony to greet the people. When he kissed the queen's hand angry murmurs died away. He placed his own hat with its tricolour cockade on the head of one of the brave palace guards, whom the mob had threatened to kill.

The royal family were saved, but the people insisted on their going back to Paris with them. A crowd of ragged women marched on each side of the royal carriage shouting that they were bringing the baker and his wife and the baker's boy home with them! Behind was another crowd dragging wagons of corn. The royal family never returned to Versailles, although the Tuileries Palace in Paris had been disused for so long that there were not even beds for them when at last they arrived there.

Then the king agreed to a new Constitution for France, although it took away from him the rights of making laws, declaring war, or raising taxes, and took all estates from the Church.

This Constitution was proclaimed with great state on the 14th July, the first anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. An altar a hundred feet high was built on a great open field and decorated with flags; the king sat before it on a throne, and a number of bishops, wearing sashes of red, white, and blue, said mass. Then Lafayette stood before the altar and drew his sword, and as commander of the National Guard swore to be true to the Constitution, the king, the law, and the nation. The



Mirabeau.

(Portrait by Couder.)

king, too, swore to be true to the Constitution, and the queen held up her five-year-old son as a witness.

So the first stage of the Revolution was over. But the people were so much excited by the discovery of their own power that they were not satisfied with this Constitution for long.

25. The French Revolution : The Second Stage

The Reign of Terror in France, 1793-94

§ 1. At this time in France a number of political clubs were started, where men met to discuss the future of their country. The most famous of these was one which met in the old convent of St. Jacques in Paris, and so became known as the Jacobin Club. The Jacobins were all Republicans, who swore to end the reign of kings in France.

After the new Constitution had been proclaimed a new Assembly was elected, and most of the members were Republicans. At first the moderate party,* who did not wish for violence, were in power ; but the king and queen began to feel that their lives might be in danger at any moment.

They knew that the emigrants (the aristocrats who had escaped from France) had stirred up sympathy for them in other countries, and that Austria, the country of Marie Antoinette, was raising an army to help them. They longed to be in safety amongst their friends, and at last they planned a secret flight. Unfortunately they spent too long on elaborate preparations. A special travelling carriage was made, large enough for the family to travel together, and the king insisted on his friends posting loyal soldiers in the towns they would pass through.

The royal family slipped out of the Tuileries by night, the king dressed as a servant of the party, and the little

* Known as Girondins, as their leaders came from the department of the Gironde, in south-west France.

prince as a girl. The journey was very slow in the big, heavy carriage, which drew attention ; also the townspeople were full of curiosity as to why soldiers had arrived.

At last, at a posting-station where they changed horses, the postmaster was suddenly struck by the likeness between this mysterious traveller and the king's head on a money-note. This postmaster galloped ahead of the royal carriage into the next town, Varennes, to give warning, and there the king found the bridge blocked and the mayor waiting to question him. Soon an officer who had often seen him at Versailles came up and greeted him.

So the poor king and queen, and the tired children, had to spend the night in the mayor's house ; and the next day they started back to Paris, where they became prisoners in their own palace.

§ 2. Austria and Prussia now declared war on France, and the Prussian commander issued a proclamation that he would destroy Paris to punish the French people for any violence to their king.

Enraged by this, a great crowd surged round the Tuileries palace, ready for murder. Members of the Assembly breathlessly rushed the royal family across a courtyard into the midst of the Assembly itself, and hid them in a tiny room behind the President's chair. Later they were moved into a prison-fortress known as the " Temple."

Now the Jacobins and other extreme Republicans gained the upper hand, and all who were suspected of being royalists were imprisoned ; the prisons overflowed, and convents were also filled with suspects. One September morning (1792) an alarm bell sounded, the city was roused in panic, and hundreds of " royalist traitors " were killed in their prisons. These " September Massacres " were followed a year later by the beginning of the awful period known as the Reign of Terror.

A machine which had been introduced by Dr. Guillotin for cutting off people's heads was used regularly by the revolutionary government ; it was called the guillotine, and

was set up in Revolution Square, the finest open space in Paris. All day long open carts, called tumbrils, rolled heavily through the streets, taking loads of men and women, aristocrats and suspects, from prison to the guillotine. Although so many of these aristocrats had been heartless



The last portrait of Louis XVI.

(Painted in the Temple by Ducreux, three days before Louis's execution. Now in the Musée Carnavalet.)

(or thoughtless), pleasure-loving, and extravagant in their lives, they died bravely. Faced by huge crowds, both men and women calmly and quietly climbed the steps of the guillotine to their fate.

Very soon the king's turn came. He scarcely raised his eyes from his prayer-book on that last ride (January 1793).

When he stood on the platform of the guillotine, looking down on that immense crowd and across at the beautiful old palace of the Louvre, he tried to say a few words of farewell to his people, but the roll of drums drowned the sound of his voice.

§ 3. Long before this Lafayette had fled, and been made a prisoner by the Austrians as a revolutionary. Now his brave wife was in prison, expecting every day to go to the guillotine. The moderate party fled from Paris and took refuge in Normandy.

Here a young girl, who was named Charlotte Corday, heard them saying that Marat was the man who had stirred up all this violence and bloodshed, and she soon believed that if Marat were dead France would have peace again. Alone she travelled to Paris, and asked for Marat at his house. When he heard that she came from Normandy, he decided to question her about the moderates. She found Marat seated in a bath for the relief of an illness he suffered from, with a board across it on which he was writing busily, and a cloth thrown over his shoulders.

When Charlotte spoke of the refugees in Normandy he exclaimed that he would soon bring them to the guillotine; and then she sprang up, pulled a knife out of her dress, and stabbed him. She was soon driving to the guillotine herself, in the scarlet dress of a murderess; but she looked proud and brave, and even happy, because she thought she had saved France.

A murder could not save France, and, as often happens in such a case, Charlotte Corday's action only did harm, for now Robespierre, who was even more terrible and cruel than Marat, became leader in Paris.

Robespierre sent the queen to the guillotine. She had borne her sufferings in the Temple prison bravely, for her children's sake, whom she looked after devotedly until she had to leave them. She died bravely too. The little prince is believed to have died in the Temple prison; the princess was set free at last, at the age of seventeen.

It was then decreed that there should be a new calendar, and years should date from the Revolution instead of from the birth of Christ. The months were given new names, such as Foggy Month, Snowy Month, Flowering Month, and Harvest Month. There were to be no Sundays, but a holi-



Charlotte Corday.

(From a contemporary portrait.)

day every tenth day, and men were to be taught to worship Reason instead of God.

At last Paris turned against horrors. Robespierre, who had sent more people to the guillotine than any other man, was accused of making himself Dictator, and sent to the guillotine in his turn. Then gradually the Reign of Terror came to an end. Amongst those whom Robespierre's death saved from the guillotine was Madame Lafayette,

who now managed to join her husband in his foreign prison, from which he was at last set free by Napoleon.

Meanwhile France had had to fight against a host of enemies. The French, after they had managed to form a proper army, had contrived to save their country and won some victories, but the English defeated them at sea.

26. England and the French Revolution

Edmund Burke, Tom Paine, and Pitt

§ 1. At first men in England thought very differently about the French Revolution. William Pitt thought it had little to do with England, and that in France the King and Parliament would settle down soon under a Constitution, such as England had established a hundred years ago by the Bill of Rights.

Many writers and thinkers—amongst them the young poet Wordsworth—thought that France would teach the world a fine lesson of the true meaning of liberty, equality, and fraternity, and they were proud and glad to be living at such a glorious time. In Parliament Charles Fox, always a lover of liberty, upheld the French by sympathetic speeches.

Many of the English lords were afraid from the first, some lest liberty and equality should spread to England and take from them their titles and lands, and some because they thought that unfit people would now clamour to take part in the British Government.

Some men were afraid because they loved their country so much ; of these the chief was Edmund Burke, the greatest orator in Parliament. Burke loved England passionately, and when he thought of king and country he thought, too, of all the brave deeds and efforts, the heroic deaths, the grave and anxious struggles for the freedom of Parliament, and the "glorious revolution" of 1688, which had made England what she was. He felt there could be no satisfaction in a new life which cut itself completely free of the old, and he

declared that to reform a country by violent revolution was like feeding it with medicine every day instead of bread. If a man wants to repair a beautiful old house, he said, he does not pull down the whole building, or patch mellow grey stone with glaring red brick ; instead, he tries to build



Edmund Burke.

(From the portrait by Reynolds.)

new parts which harmonize with the old, so that the house does not lose the beauty of age in being fitted for present-day life. So should the reform of a country's laws and government be carried out.

§ 2. Meanwhile reform societies sprang up everywhere in England, demanding that more people should have the

vote for members of Parliament. In those days many rich men bought seats in the House of Commons, and the new big cities, such as Manchester and Birmingham, sent no members to Parliament.

In London, some working-men formed the "London Corresponding Society," with a subscription of a penny a week, to work for reform of Parliament. They sent letters to the revolutionaries in Paris. Tom Paine answered Burke with a book called *The Rights of Man*.

Tom Paine loved liberty as eagerly as Burke loved his



Charles James Fox.

country and the beauty of order. He had fought for the Americans in the War of Independence, and his stirring writings helped to make the rebellion of the thirteen indignant colonies into a dignified stand for the liberty of a new nation. Paine, a working-man, gave all the profits on his books to Washington's war funds, and in anxious times he rallied the courage of the American troops with appeals to be not only "summer soldiers" and "sunshine patriots," but to remember that liberty is too dear a treasure to be bought without sacrifice.

Thirteen years later it was Paine who received the key of the Bastille (1789) from Lafayette to carry to Washington. Now he likened France to a bird, of which the people were the body and the aristocracy the fine feathers; Burke, he said, pitied the plumage, but he forgot the dying bird.

§ 3. Unfortunately the Reign of Terror in France fulfilled Burke's fears. He had said that at the end of every path in France's new garden of liberty he saw the gallows, and he proved to be right (only it was the guillotine). Soon the awful months of tyranny and murder in Paris caused a panic in England.

Reform societies were broken up, and their leaders sent to Botany Bay, in Australia, for ten or fifteen years. Any man who spoke of votes for the people or free speech was denounced as a "Jacobin" and a possible Robespierre. Printers and booksellers were forbidden to produce Paine's *Rights of Man*, and those who sold it were imprisoned. It was particularly sad to see William Pitt, who had been a common-sense reformer, infected by this panic, and suspending the Habeas Corpus Act (1794),* so that men suspected of treason could be kept in prison without trial.

The darkest year was 1794. Then the cloud lifted, when a London jury acquitted the leaders of the London Corresponding Society and set them free. Nevertheless all reform in England was checked, and it was thirty years before reforms that were really needed could be brought forward again.

Tom Paine had fled to France, and was at once made a member of the French Parliament; but when the moderates lost power he fell out of favour too. Republican as he was, he made a brave protest against the beheading of the French king. Soon he was in prison, and only escaped

* *Habeas Corpus* is Latin for "You are to produce the body." In Charles II.'s reign, 1679, the Habeas Corpus Act was passed, by which a writ could be issued requiring an imprisoned person to be brought before judges, etc., to find out whether he was guilty of the crime for which he had been put in prison.

the guillotine because (it is said) a tired gaoler chalked the sign of death on the wrong side of his cell door ! He ended his life in America, where he shocked the friends who were grateful to him for his defence of liberty, by writing against religious doctrines.

27. Two Giants of Land and Sea : Napoleon and Nelson

The Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1793-1815

§ 1. For twenty years every nation in Europe was stirred and shaken by the boundless pride and ambition of one man—Napoleon Bonaparte—who had a genius for war.

Napoleon was the eldest son of a lawyer of Italian family, who lived in the French island of Corsica. He was trained for the army from childhood ; at ten years old he was sent to a military school in France, where the sons of French nobles, who were not rich enough to pay for expensive training for their children, were educated to be officers. Here Napoleon was moody and unhappy ; he felt that he had more strength of mind and will than any of his companions, and yet they despised him because he had not the ordinary manners and ideas of a French noble's family. Even at school his overmastering pride began to show itself, and by the time he was grown up it was his one unrelenting desire to prove to the world that Napoleon Bonaparte was a great man.

When the French Revolution broke out (1789) Napoleon was just twenty ; he had become a lieutenant, but ill-health had kept him at home in Corsica. Now his first thought was not of liberty or equality, or even of country, but that here might be a chance to make himself master of his native island ! He formed an army of National Guards, and thought himself a Corsican Lafayette, but when he tried to seize the town of Ajaccio and hold it by force, the attempt failed, and he had to return to France.

Young Napoleon had no position in France now ; he had lost his commission in the French army by staying too long in Corsica. He was in a desperate plight, and scarcely knew where his next meal was to come from. But before long a change of government helped him back to the army. The new government overlooked offences against the old, and France was now at war with England, Austria, and Prussia, and very short of trained officers. So Napoleon was recalled to the army and made a captain, and soon he proved himself one of the cleverest of the Republic's soldiers.

§ 2. In 1796 France sent out three armies against Austria ; two were to advance through Germany, and the third to break the Austrian hold on Italy. Napoleon was placed in command of the third army. His soldiers were ragged, poorly fed, and only half trained, but he made them into a fine army, full of his own conquering spirit. They swept all before them in Italy, and pursued the Austrians in their flight almost to Vienna. Napoleon only paused when Austria begged for peace and promised to give up to him lands which would bring the new boundary of France up to the Rhine (as Louis XIV. had longed to do).

When Napoleon returned to Paris he was hailed as a great conqueror. His soldiers were full of pride in the "Little Corporal," as they called him affectionately ; for he understood how to win the hearts of soldiers when he wished to, and they knew they could be sure of their share of praise after every victory.

France was now under the government of a Directory, a body of five leading men ; but it was not to increase the glory and pride of a Directory of lawyers that Napoleon had fought. He had watched government follow government in poor, distracted France, and he saw clearly that the rule of one strong man was needed to restore order and make his country once more respected and powerful in Europe ; he meant Napoleon Bonaparte to be that man. First, however, he must make himself an even greater hero, and dazzle the country with his military triumphs.

§ 3. England was the next country France had to fight, and Napoleon planned to master the Mediterranean Sea, cut off England's trade with India, and found a French



The Emperor Napoleon in 1812.

(From the portrait by Isabey in the Wallace Collection.)

empire in the East. So he persuaded the Directory to let him take an army into Egypt. On the way he captured Malta, which was—and still is—an important island for the command of the Mediterranean.

Cruising in the Mediterranean, on the look-out for Napoleon, was the man who was to do so much to break his power—England's greatest admiral, Horatio Nelson.

Nelson's spirit was equal to Napoleon's own. He too had been proud and ambitious even as a boy ; but he was not greedy for power and grandeur—it was honour which he desired above all things. When he was put on his honour to ride to school through a snowdrift—if it was possible—no persuasions would turn him back. Once he robbed his schoolmaster's pear tree, which was very difficult to get at, simply because no one else dared to do it ; but when he brought the pears back to the school he would not eat one himself in case it should be thought that he had robbed the tree from greed.

Later in life Nelson longed for honourable fame which should bring glory to his country. When one of his officers ventured to pity him for a small misfortune, he replied haughtily, with a spirit not altogether unlike Napoleon's :
" Pity ! *Pity*, did you say ? I shall live, sir, to be envied ! And to that point I shall always direct my course."

Nelson was trained for the sea almost as young as Napoleon for the army. Although he was small, and not strong, it was his own wish to go to sea ; he would not be discouraged even when his uncle, a captain, who was asked to take him as a midshipman, wrote : " What has poor Horatio done, who is so weak, that he, above all the rest, should be sent to rough it out at sea ? But let him come, and the first time we go into action a cannon-ball may knock off his head, and provide for him at once."

Midshipman Nelson, aged twelve, began to "rough it" on his very first day on board, when he wandered up and down the deck for many hours before any one took notice of him. All through his life he was seasick in a storm, and was sometimes said to be "the only sick man" amongst the well-cared-for sailors of his fleet.

§ 4. By 1798, when he was first matched against Napoleon, Nelson had already won fame. The year before,



Lord Nelson at the age of 42.

(From a portrait by Matthew Keymer, never before photographed or engraved, now in the Town Hall, Great Yarmouth. Copyright photograph by the "Times.")

England had fought France, Spain, and Holland. Nelson had helped to win a great victory over a Spanish fleet which outnumbered the English ships by five to three. In

this battle of Cape St. Vincent Nelson was the first to board one Spanish ship, crying as he sprang, "Westminster Abbey or victory!" In action, during other fights, he lost his right arm and his right eye, and he feared his service at sea was over. It was a great joy to him to find that the navy had as much confidence in Nelson maimed and half blind as in any able-bodied admiral.

When Napoleon sailed for Egypt in 1798 he slipped past Nelson during a storm, and for several weeks Nelson raced his ships up and down the Mediterranean, seeking in vain for sight or sign of the French fleet.

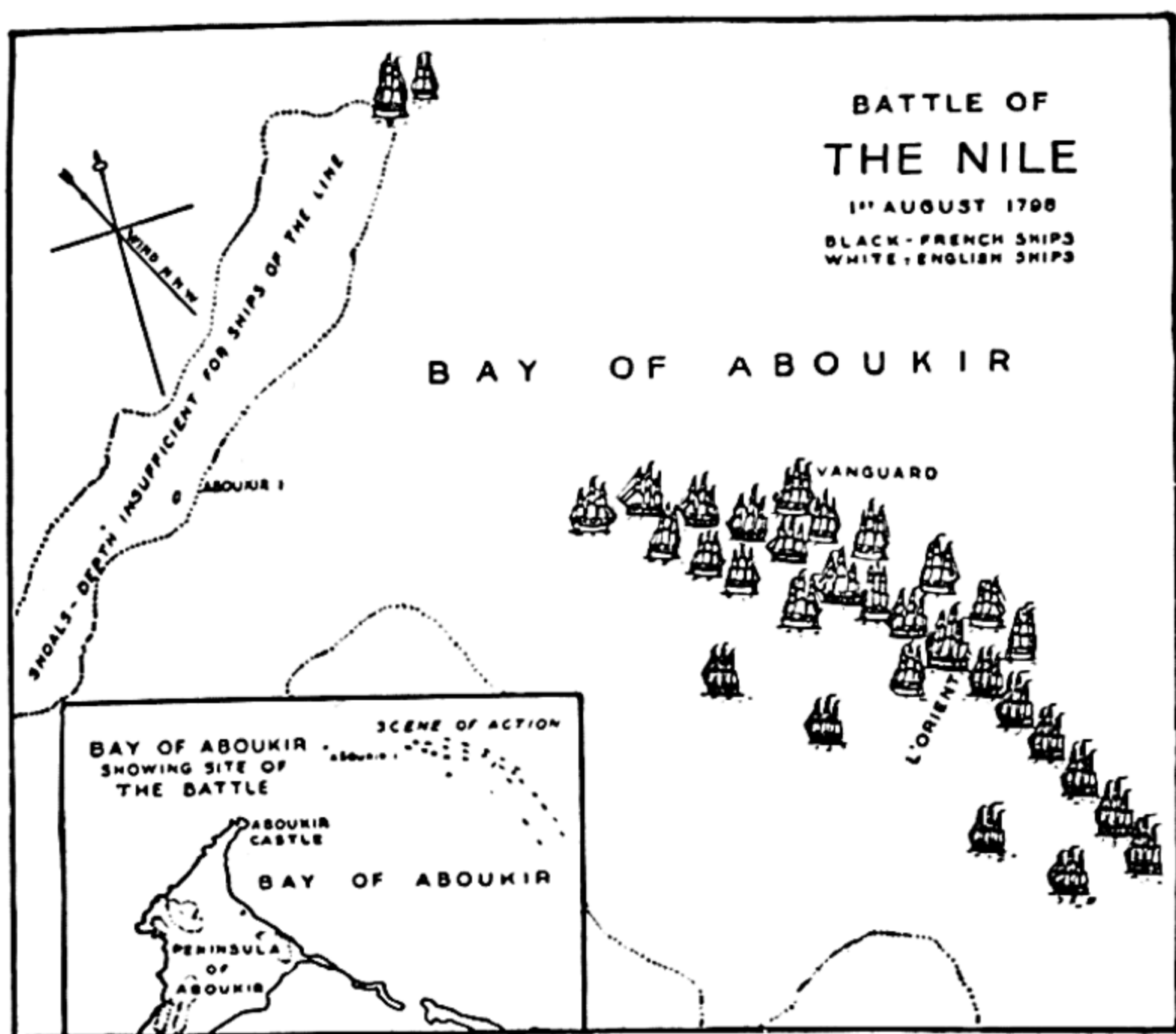
Meanwhile Napoleon's army landed and stormed Alexandria, and from there marched heroically across the burning sand of the desert to Cairo. Within sight of the Pyramids they found a host of fierce Mamelukes (a body of native cavalry) drawn up to fight them, looking very formidable on their fine, gaily-decked horses, and brandishing jewelled swords. Napoleon pointed to the Pyramids: "Soldiers," he said, "forty centuries look down on you." His army did not fail to respond to the hint; soon the Mamelukes were in flight, and the French marched into Cairo in triumph. But here bad news awaited Napoleon.

Nelson had at last found the French fleet in Aboukir Bay—the scene of the Battle of the Nile (1798). The ships which had carried the soldiers were drawn up in line close to the coast, protected by gunboats and by batteries on shore. Eagerly Nelson explained his plan of attack to his captains, and gave orders for six colours (flags) to be hoisted in different parts of his rigging, in case some should be shot away.

It was a battle of giants, and fought out to the end by the light of burning vessels. The French admiral's ship, the *Orient*, was matched against the *Bellerophon*, whose guns were not even half so powerful as those of the French ship. At last the *Bellerophon* drifted out of the action, a mere helpless hulk, without masts, cables, or lights; but other ships closed with the *Orient*, and she was soon ablaze. Suddenly a mighty explosion shook every vessel in the bay,

followed by a silence, and then a great splash as the *Orient's* masts, which had been shot high into the air, struck the water. Amongst the French officers who were killed in this explosion was Commodore Casabianca and his ten-year-old son, of whom Mrs. Hemans wrote the poem beginning, "The boy stood on the burning deck."

In the Battle of the Nile, as it came to be called, nine



of the thirteen large French ships were captured and two burned, and the treasure taken at Malta was recovered, but Nelson himself was wounded. He was carried into the cockpit, and a doctor hurried from a wounded sailor to attend to him. Nelson waved him back. "No," he said, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Nelson's unfailing thought for his men was genuine; Napoleon sacrificed his men ruthlessly if care for them interfered with his schemes.

§ 5. The Battle of the Nile was a terrible blow for Napoleon. His triumphs on shore were robbed of their glory; his conquering army was imprisoned in Egypt. Yet he continued his career of conquest over the Turks, who now opposed him, until he was checked by another Englishman—Sidney Smith—who drove him back from the crumbling walls of Acre (1799) with British naval guns. Afterwards Napoleon said of Sidney Smith: "That man has made me miss my destiny; had Acre fallen, I should have been Emperor of all the East."

Now Napoleon heard that the Directory had grown very unpopular in France, and he longed to be in Paris to form a new government himself; so he deserted his wretched army, and slipped away, with his best generals, in a ship he had ready at Alexandria.

In France Napoleon was welcomed with peals of bells and bonfires; he was supposed to have left a conquering army to hold Egypt. Before long he boldly marched into the Assembly with a band of soldiers, and the five Directors fled to the sound of drums beating and cries of "Long live Bonaparte!"

Once more a new government was formed, called the Consulate. There were three Consuls, but Napoleon took the title of First Consul, and really ruled the country. This was a great step forward. But he was not yet satisfied—he intended to be king or emperor.

28. Napoleon becomes Emperor, and Nelson saves Britain

Napoleon becomes Emperor, 1804; Nelson's Victory off Trafalgar, 1805

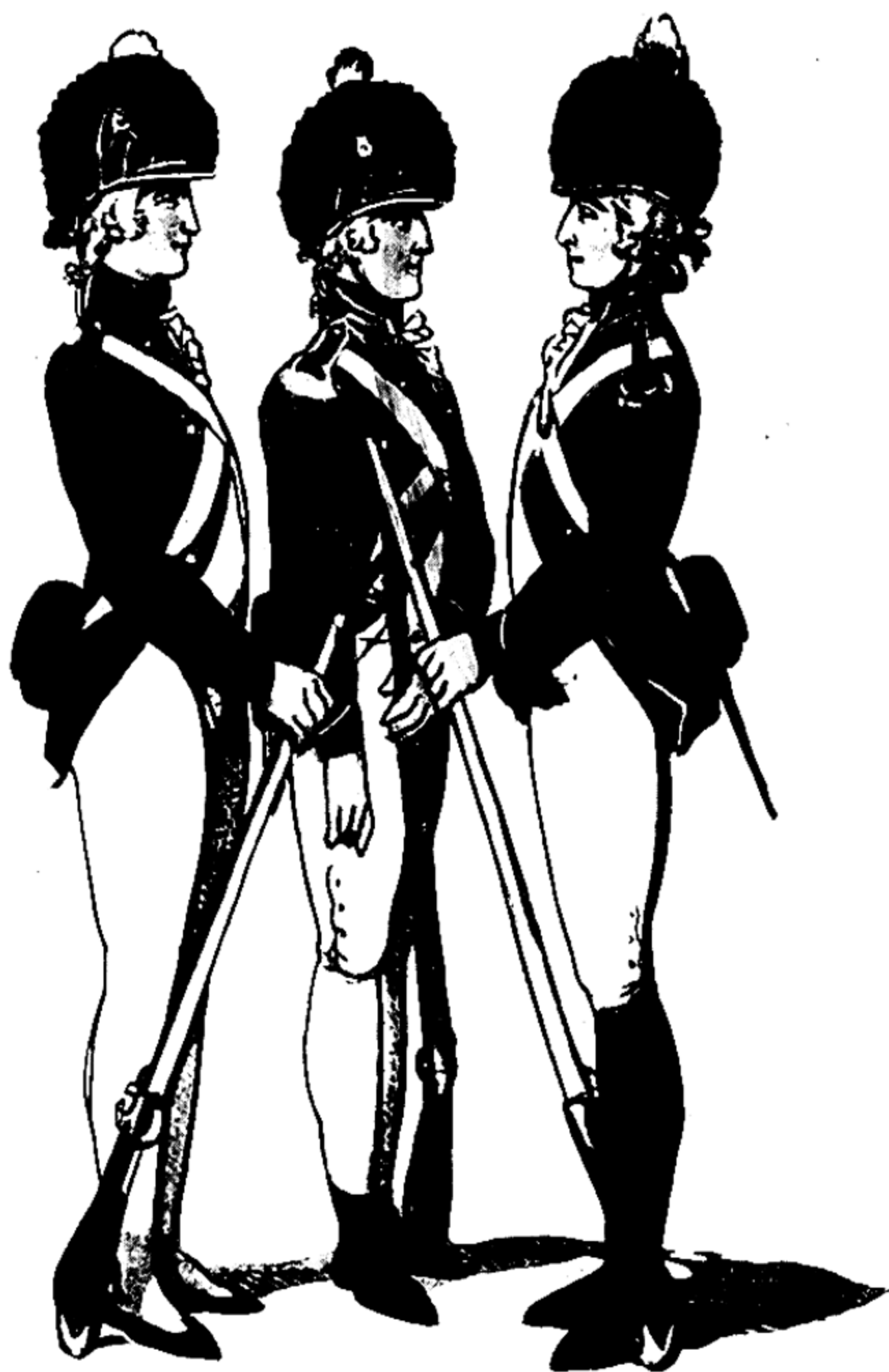
§ 1. Napoleon was right in thinking that France needed the rest and unity which only a strong ruler could give her. Since the Revolution (1789) there had been so much quar-

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MILE-END, SHOREDITCH, AND TRINITY MINORIES VOLUNTEERS,
FORMED IN 1798.

*(By Thomas Rowlandson in H. Ackerman's "Loyal Volunteers,"
1798.)*

relling and violent change, as government followed government, that the nation scarcely knew whom to trust or what orders to obey. At home law and order had given place to confusion, and abroad France's conquests were falling back once more into the hands of Austria.

Napoleon's first thought was to save his conquests, on which he meant to found a French empire; so he planned boldly to march into Italy before he could possibly be expected, and once more drive out the Austrians. His rapid, secret march across the Alps is one of the great adventures of history.

There were no roads fit for gun-carriages; but the guns were dismounted and laid in hollowed pine trunks, and the soldiers dragged them through snow and round crags on their toilsome climb up the St. Bernard Pass. When they flagged Napoleon ordered bugles to sound an inspiring forward charge. Almost at the top of the pass a small fort, manned by Austrian soldiers, blocked their way. They did not want these soldiers to send warning of their coming to the Austrian army in Italy, so most of the men scrambled noiselessly round the back of the fort by a precipitous little goat track. In the night the French gunners covered the road beneath the fort deep in straw, mounted the guns on wheels muffled with straw bands, and trundled them all past before dawn, and the Austrians never heard a sound!

Now the French soldiers poured into Italy, and almost before the Austrians could believe that Napoleon was really there he had won a great victory at Marengo (1800).

A second victory on Austrian soil drove Austria to ask for peace. Meanwhile Russia had withdrawn from the coalition, and then only Britain was left at war with France. The Czar had also persuaded three of the other European nations, Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, to join Russia in an alliance against England, known as the Armed Neutrality. Its chief object was to prevent England from searching the ships of other nations to see if they carried war materials for France, and in this traffic the Danes were most active.

§ 2. Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson were sent together to try to capture or break up the Danish fleet. It was a very difficult, dangerous errand, because the British ships had to follow the Danes into the Baltic Sea, and the Danes pulled up all the buoys which had marked the safe channels, so that Parker and Nelson were in constant danger of running aground. Nelson, unresting and unsleeping, carried out a survey of the waters under cover of darkness, and set marks for his ships. But when the fight began Parker thought the difficulties too great, and signalled to Nelson to draw back.

When Nelson was told of this he placed his telescope to his blind eye and gazed at Parker's ship. Then he said: "I really don't see the signal. Keep mine for closer battle still flying. Nail it to the mast." To those close to him he added in a murmur: "I have a right to be blind sometimes, you know." But this was not really an act of disobedience to orders, for the commander-in-chief had sent a private message that the signal need not be obeyed if Nelson thought it better to continue the attack.

By the end of the battle all the ships of the Danish fleet were burnt or sunk. This was the battle of Copenhagen (1801), sometimes known as the battle of the Baltic.

Not long after this both France and Britain were ready to make peace, and in 1802 the Peace of Amiens gave Europe a little rest.

§ 3. Napoleon had begun to set France itself in order. He made peace with the Pope, and so brought religion and Sunday back to the nation; one old countrywoman explained to an English traveller that they had lost *le bon Dieu* for ten years, but now Bonaparte had found Him again!

Napoleon also encouraged the building of schools, founded a university and a bank, and, more important still, reformed the laws; but the old calendar was not restored until 1806. Meanwhile, in 1802, the French Parliament had made him First Consul for life. But Napoleon did not rest content with this title for long.



Napoleon in his coronation robes.
(*Ingres.*)

By 1804 he had made the country feel that the only fitting title for him was Emperor of the French, and he wished the Pope to crown him, as Charlemagne in days of old had been crowned as head of the Holy Roman Empire. Charlemagne,* the mighty Frankish conqueror, had gone to Rome to receive his crown from the Pope; Napoleon desired the Pope to come to Paris to crown him, although it was very unusual for a Pope to leave his palace in Rome.

Such was Napoleon's power, and the fear of offending him, that the Pope consented, and the great ceremony was prepared in Paris. When the grand moment came, for which the Pope had been brought from Rome, Napoleon suddenly took the crown in his own hands, raised it high, and placed it on his own head! He would not owe his crown to any one; he felt that only Napoleon Bonaparte was great enough to crown himself Emperor of the French! Then he crowned Josephine his wife as Empress.

Not long afterwards Napoleon also crowned himself King of Italy, using the historic iron crown of Lombardy.

Before this, Napoleon had overrun Switzerland and added new provinces to France, while the nations of Europe looked on in despair. Only England was uncrushed, behind her barrier of sea and the wooden walls of Nelson's ships, and after only a year's peace Napoleon's threats drew her into war with him once more. England could not put a great army in the field; hitherto she had helped her allies to keep up armies with grants of money, while she had done the fighting at sea.

Now, once again, Pitt sought for allies, and he persuaded Austria, Sweden, and Russia to join England in another stand against the emperor.

§ 4. Napoleon longed to invade England; he felt sure that if he could once land an army on English soil he could soon conquer the whole island. First, however, he would have to get through the English fleet, which kept watch outside the harbours in which the French navy lay. The harbour

* See the Junior Books of this History Series.

of Brest was blockaded by the English admiral Cornwallis, and Nelson kept watch in the Mediterranean outside Toulon, where the commander-in-chief of the French fleet, Admiral Villeneuve, was waiting for a chance to sail to the English Channel and cover a French landing in England.

Meanwhile Napoleon pushed on his preparations for an invasion at Boulogne, and a large army (which the French called "the army of England") was soon ready to cross the Channel, with flat-bottomed boats to carry them. Napoleon gazed longingly across the water and exclaimed :



Medal struck by Napoleon to commemorate his intended invasion of England, 1804.

"Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours, and we will be masters of the world !"

There seemed no chance of a successful invasion until Napoleon made an alliance with Spain and had the Spanish fleet to help him. He then planned that the French and Spanish ships should all gather in the West Indies and sail from there to swoop down upon the Channel in great force.

The French fleet at Brest failed to get through the blockade, but Villeneuve slipped past Nelson (whose task was more difficult than Cornwallis's) and reached the West Indies with the Spanish ships. At first Nelson, who had orders to guard against a French attack on Egypt, thought

that Villeneuve had sailed in that direction, but when he heard where he was he lost no time in following.

As soon as Nelson approached, Villeneuve turned back and raced at full speed for the Channel. Through wrong information Nelson had missed him, but now he too turned back, and sent on a fast brig which carried the news to England in time for another fleet to be sent out to meet Villeneuve. This fleet, under Sir Robert Calder, was smaller than the French one, but it captured two of Villeneuve's ships, and he retired into a Spanish port.

Nelson, on his arrival, joined Cornwallis at Brest, and soon Villeneuve withdrew to Cadiz.

When Napoleon heard this he was bitterly disappointed, and he left Boulogne to push on the war in Austria, and in September 1805 he entered Germany.

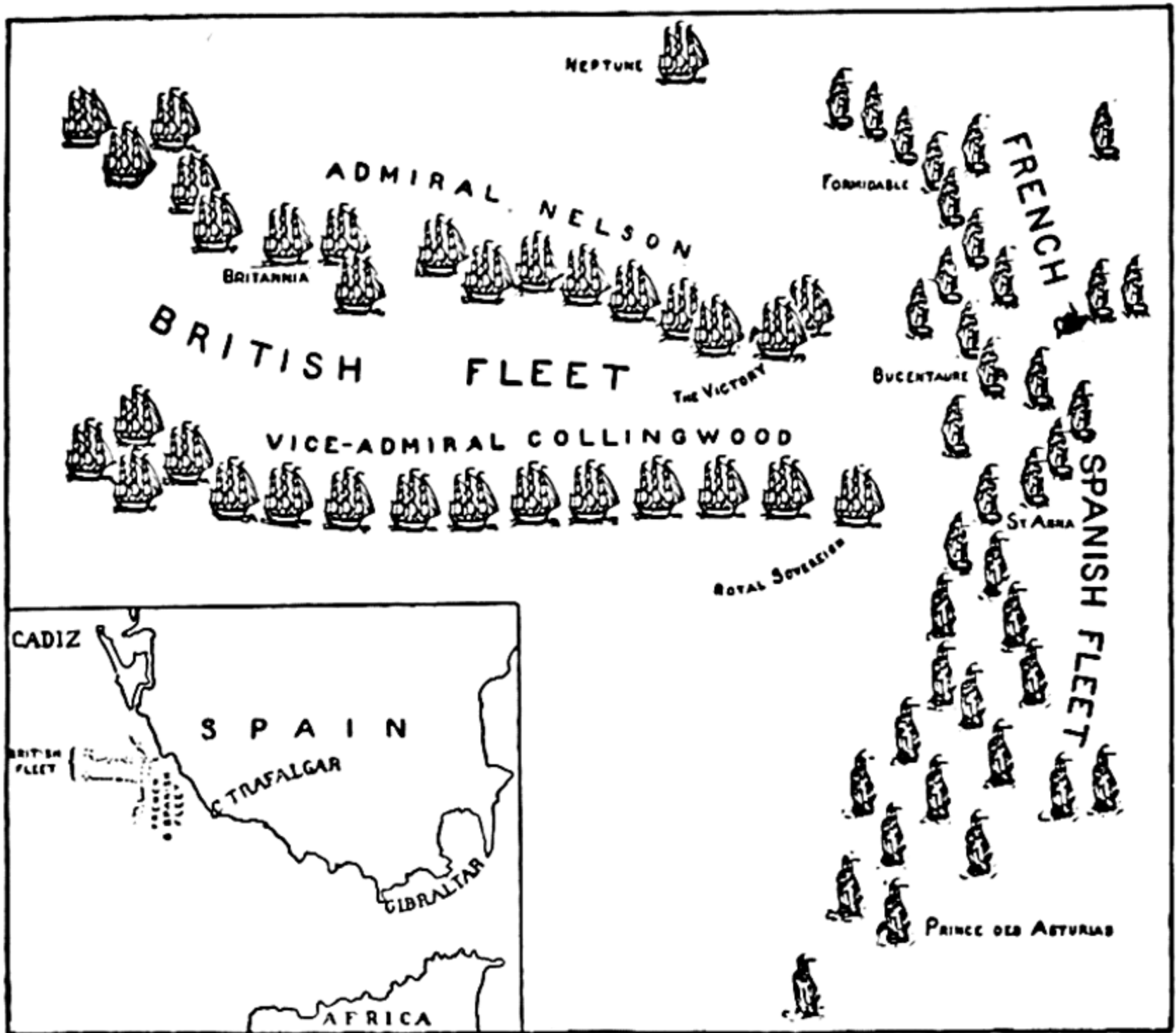
Nelson soon grew impatient of inaction, and set off for Cadiz, and at last he met the French and Spanish fleets off Cape Trafalgar on October 21, 1805.

§ 5. Nelson commanded the fleet from his well-loved ship the *Victory*, and with him was Admiral Collingwood in the *Royal Sovereign*. After the enemy had been sighted, Nelson, alone in his cabin, wrote down a prayer in his diary. This prayer began : " May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory ; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it. And may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet."

Just before battle Nelson gave orders that the *Victory* should show the famous signal, " England expects that every man will do his duty." " See ! " cried Nelson, as the *Royal Sovereign* engaged the first French ship, " how that noble fellow Collingwood carries his ship into action ! " At the same moment Collingwood exclaimed to an officer by his side : " What would Nelson give to be here ! "

The *Victory* itself was soon locked in hot fighting with more than one French ship. Twice Nelson thought the great French vessel *Redoubtable*, which had pressed him hard,

had surrendered, because she stopped firing, and twice he acted on his own instructions—that the English might be distinguished by humanity in battle—by ordering the *Victory* to cease firing on this enemy wreck. From this vessel, which he had spared, came a bullet which wounded

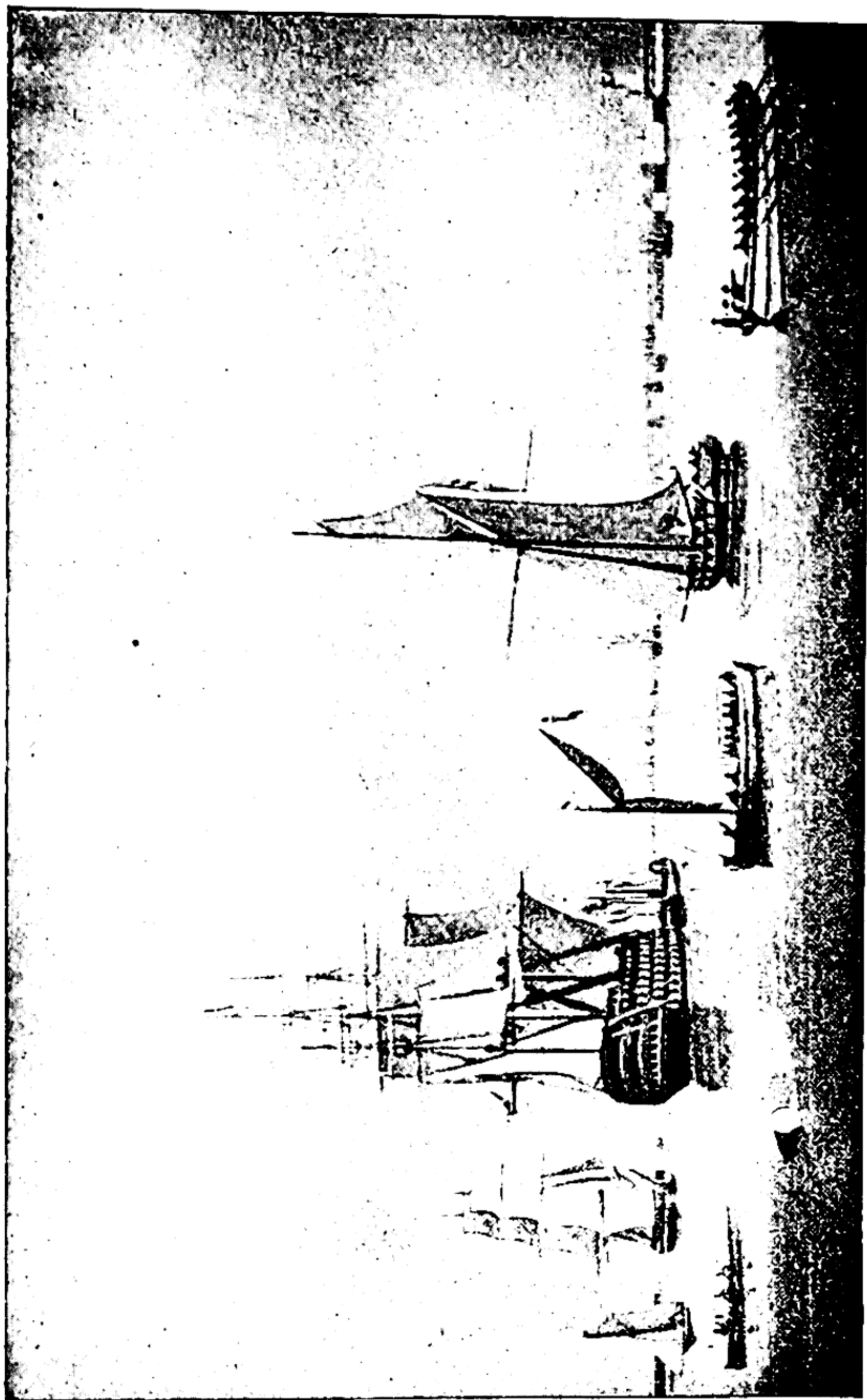


Battle of Trafalgar, October 21, 1805.

him fatally. He was carried down to the cockpit, and this time he knew he was dying.

Nelson lived long enough to hear from Captain Hardy that most of the enemy's ships had struck their colours.* "I hope," said Nelson, "that none of our ships have struck?" To that Hardy replied, "There was no fear of

* Hauled down their country's flag as a sign of surrender.



Portsmouth harbour about 1830, with H.M.S. *Victory* being towed by a steam tug
(From the painting by Butterworth in the United Service Museum. By permission.)

that." So Nelson was able to say, "Now I am satisfied. Thank God, I have done my duty." The brave captain of the *Victory* was rewarded for his trouble and anxiety (even at that moment five of the remaining French ships were bearing down upon the *Victory*) when Nelson said, "Kiss me, Hardy." He then went back to his post of danger with Nelson's "God bless you, Hardy!" to hearten him, and he brought the *Victory* out of the battle with a story of triumph and tragedy to tell.

§ 6. At the battle of Trafalgar (1805) nineteen French and Spanish ships were taken, and Napoleon's power at sea was broken for ever. Even before this disaster the emperor had given up all hope of invading England.

In England the joy of victory was clouded by the sad news of Nelson's death. He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, in a coffin made of part of the mainmast of the French ship *Orient* (which had been blown up at the battle of the Nile). The *Victory* may still be seen in Portsmouth harbour, where she flies the famous Trafalgar signal every year on the anniversary of the battle.

Napoleon had wasted no time on regrets: when one plan failed he turned at once to another. Before Trafalgar, one Austrian army had been forced to surrender, and six weeks later Austria and Russia were utterly defeated in the battle of Austerlitz. Then, in 1806, Napoleon finally broke up the Holy Roman Empire, which had lasted for over a thousand years.

The news of Napoleon's triumphs on land hastened the death of William Pitt the Younger, whose health had failed him early in life. When Pitt heard of Austerlitz, he pointed sadly to a map of Europe and said: "Roll up that map; it will not be wanted these ten years." It seemed to him that no one in Europe could stand against Napoleon, and that in time he would indeed master the whole Continent. Pitt died the following January (1806), with the sad words on his lips: "My country! How I leave my country!"

Soon afterwards Napoleon won two other great victories,

defeating the Prussians at Jena and the Russians at Friedland (1807). Now he was no longer content to be only Emperor of the French.

29. The Fall of Napoleon : Wellington

Spain, 1808 ; Moscow, 1812 ; Waterloo, 1815

§ 1. Napoleon now had Russia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, Austria, Prussia, and the other German states at his feet. In order to make Britain feel his power too, he had bound all countries under his control not to buy any British goods, and he issued these orders from the capital of Prussia, so they were known as the Berlin Decrees (1806).*

Napoleon hoped that England would be reduced to despair as her manufactures piled up unsold in her factories, and her ships were kept idle in the home ports. As a matter of fact Europe could not do without British goods ; Napoleon himself had to give special permission for English cloth and boots to be admitted to France in order to clothe his armies ! Other nations smuggled British goods in, hidden in their boots, and under hats, aprons, and skirts !

Portugal bravely refused to give a promise to stop all her trade with England, so the French invaded Portugal, the king fled to his colonies in South America, and the French took possession of the country. After this enterprise Napoleon found the King of Spain and his son quarrelling, and forced them to settle their dispute by giving up the crown to him ! He then made his brother Joseph King of Spain ; already one brother was King of Holland, and another of Westphalia.

Still not satisfied, Napoleon wished to found a royal house of Bonaparte, which should be as great as the Bourbons and Hapsburgs of old. He would not let affection stand in

* The plan of keeping British goods out of Europe was known as the Continental System.

the way of ambition, so he divorced his wife Josephine, who had no children, and married Marie Louise, the young daughter of his beaten enemy, the Emperor of Austria. When Marie Louise had a son, Napoleon was delighted to think that this child of his was descended from a long line of kings and emperors, and he called him the King of Rome, a title which had been formerly used for the eldest son of the head of the Holy Roman Empire.

§ 2. Meanwhile the great soldier who was to be Napoleon's conqueror was gaining experience of warfare in India, which had been unsettled by promises of French help to throw off British rule. Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, was born in the same year (1769) as Napoleon, and he spent a year at a French military school. No one suspected the military genius which lay behind the young officer's quiet manner. Wellesley did nothing to attract attention to himself, but he was sound, thorough, and business-like, and whenever he had a piece of work to do it was well done.

In India, where his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, was Governor-General, he distinguished himself in the war against Tippoo Sahib, known as the "Tiger of Mysore" (his French friends called him Citizen Tippoo!). Next he reduced the wild Mahrattas to order, showing his wisdom by taking risks against tribes upon whom an unhesitating attack was more likely to be successful than slow and steady methods.

Wellesley arrived home in England from these triumphs on the eve of the battle of Trafalgar. Not yet, however, did England realize that in him she had at last a soldier to match against Napoleon; although Pitt said that he did not know whether to admire Wellesley's talents or his modesty more.

Napoleon's seizure of Portugal gave Wellesley his opportunity. Portugal appealed to England for help, and the Spanish people also rose against the usurper Joseph, and an army was sent out under Wellesley's command.

The campaigns that followed are known as the Peninsular War (1808-14). Wellesley was careful as well as brilliant. First he drove the French from Portugal, after his victory at Vimiero. This brought Napoleon himself to Madrid, but another French army was checked by Sir John Moore at Corunna. In this battle that brave leader died, and of him the poem was written: "We buried him darkly at dead of night."

Soon Wellesley was advancing across Spain, winning one victory after another, and retiring within some fortified lines he had prepared at Torres Vedras when his army needed rest or re-forming. By 1812 he had entered Madrid, and the following year he won a great battle at Vittoria, and drove the French right out of Spain.

§ 3. Meanwhile Napoleon had turned his back on the struggle in Spain, because he was unwilling to give up a magnificent plan of campaign by which he hoped to dominate all Russia. The Czar of Russia was again in arms, for he felt that there could never be peace so long as Napoleon was emperor—"He or I," he said, "I or he; we cannot both reign together."

The march into Russia led to Napoleon's downfall. Quietly and steadily the Russians retreated before his Grand Army, drawing it farther and farther into a vast, deserted country. Napoleon's army moved in a perpetual cloud of dust, suffering torments of thirst, hunger, and heat, with neither battle, plunder, nor fresh supplies to break the monotonous anguish of the march.

At last, as they approached Moscow, a battle was fought at Borodino, where many fell but little was gained. The Russians retreated once more, and at last Napoleon's army burst rejoicing into deserted Moscow; but they had scarcely time to rest, and enjoy the food and plunder, before a storm of fire swept through the city, and they had to fly from the blazing streets.

Nothing remained but to march back again. By this time it was winter, and the snow proved an even more



Napoleon in sight of Moscow.

(From the painting by Verestchagin.)

terrible enemy than the heat, while watching bands of Russians closed in upon the stragglers with ever-ready

swords. The misery of that retreat from Moscow (1812) was the cruellest experience to which even the pitiless Napoleon ever subjected faithful soldiers. Before they had left Russian soil the emperor hurried on ahead, leaving the broken remnant of the Grand Army to struggle home as best it might.

§ 4. Napoleon found that while he was in Russia the subject nations of Europe had once more risen against him. They could no longer endure the Continental System, which deprived them of British goods, and Wellesley's victories in Spain had given them new hope and courage. Prussia was one of the states which had suffered most from Napoleon, and now Prussia was the most active of his enemies.

Napoleon was too late to save his empire; he could not keep back the armies of the indignant peoples of central Europe for long. Under the leadership of Prussia, Napoleon was defeated at a great "Battle of the Nations" at Leipzig (1813), France was invaded, and the Allies entered Paris in triumph.

Now France herself turned against the emperor who had asked so much of her and then failed to keep the empire for which she had endured such hardship and bloodshed. Napoleon was forced to abdicate, and afterwards he was placed in exile on the island of Elba, off the Italian coast.

The allies then made Louis XVIII., a brother of the murdered Louis XVI., King of France.

Not so easily, however, was the world to be freed from the mighty grip of Napoleon. Within a year he had escaped from Elba, and, in spite of all they had suffered, the heart of all his old soldiers leapt with joy at the thought of serving once more under the Little Corporal. Ney, who was one of Napoleon's old generals, led an army against him, declaring that Napoleon deserved to be brought back to Paris in an iron cage; but he was easily won over by Napoleon, and his soldiers showed their delight by throwing their hats in the air and shouting, "Long live the Emperor!"

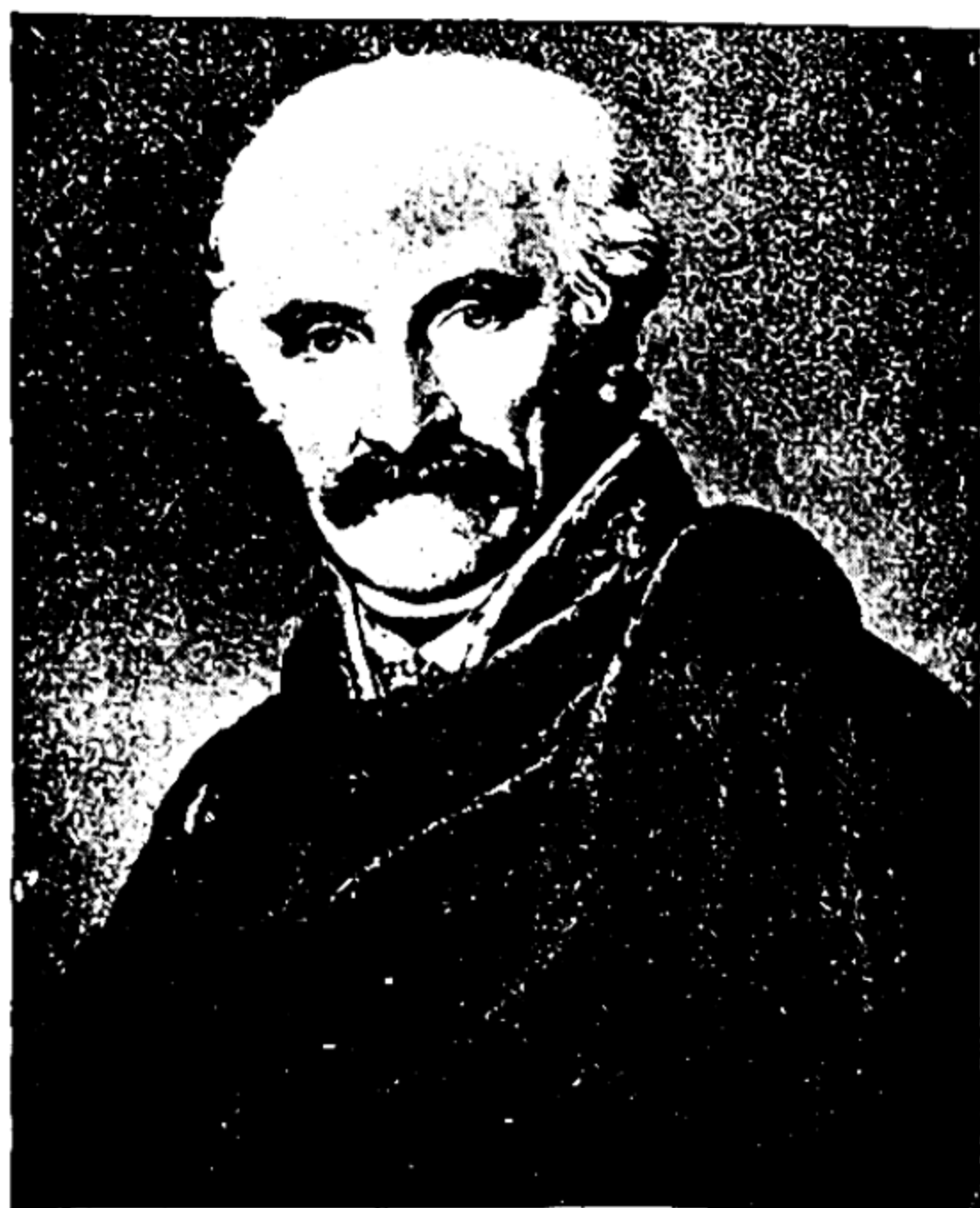
In Paris all was suspense, and Louis XVIII. fled. An



Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington.

(From the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence, R.A., in Wellington College.)

English lady staying there at the time recorded in her diary: "The street was empty. . . . No sound was heard but that of here and there some hurried footstep: on one hand hastening for a passport to secure safety by flight; on the other rushing from or to some concealment, to devise means of hastening or hailing the entrance of the con-



Marshal Blücher.

(Portrait by Greger.)

queror." Before long Napoleon was back at the Tuileries, governing Paris once more with a strong hand.

§ 5. The allies gathered their forces in Belgium, and declared that Napoleon was the enemy of Europe and a disturber of the peace of the world, and they would not lay down their arms until he surrendered once more.

The last great battle was fought out on the field of



ENGLISH ARTILLERYMEN DURING THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

(J. A. Atkinson: *"Costumes of Great Britain,"* 1807.)

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Waterloo, near Brussels, June 18, 1815. The Prussian army was under Marshal Blücher, the English, Dutch, and Belgians under Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington.

Napoleon had tried to separate these two armies, and for a time the Prussians drew back. When the final positions were taken, Ney led charge after charge upon the solid squares into which Wellington's scarlet-coated soldiers had been formed. In vain the French cavalry dashed upon them, to be received with volleys of bullets and steady bayonets. Ney sent a message to Napoleon for more troops ; there were none to send him.

At this time the Prussians were working their way forwards through deep mud ; but Napoleon just managed to hold them, and now he made the great effort of the day. He had kept back his own fine regiment of Guards until this moment ; now they dashed upon the British, who stood firm against the shock, and then, while the French Guards were still disordered from their rush, charged forward with fixed bayonets.

The Prussians were now coming up steadily to Wellington's support ; the allied armies advanced together, and the French fled before them.

Napoleon's hopes were shattered ; weary France scarcely knew what to hope or fear. He was once more sent into exile, but this time to the lonely island of St. Helena, in the South Atlantic Ocean, many miles from any continent. Here, with an English guard, Napoleon lived out the remaining six years of his life in a quiet, white house, with just a few French companions.

His son, the little King of Rome, was brought up in Austria, where he was kindly treated by his grandparents, but fretted bitterly because no one would speak to him of his father or allow him to call himself a Frenchman. He died young, and there never was, after all, a royal house of Bonaparte.

THE MAKING OF THE MODERN NATIONS

30. The Making of South America

§ 1. Napoleon's unresting ambition had even reached across the Atlantic and shaken America. At one time he had dreams of founding a new French empire in North America, and he bought Louisiana from the Spaniards,* but he was soon glad to sell it to the United States (1803) in case it should fall into British hands and be made part of the British Empire. Thus the United States thrust their dominion south and west.

Despite their policy of avoiding entangling alliances, the United States were at last drawn into the Napoleonic war against England, and on the side of France, who had befriended them in the War of Independence. Irritation had been aroused by England's claim to search American ships for war materials intended for France, and now there were many individual fights between ship and ship, as they met one another. On land the United States invaded Canada (1814), but were driven back, and towards the close of the war an English expedition reached Washington and burned the public buildings there, which caused bitter feelings not soon forgotten in America.

§ 2. The great disturbance of Europe shook, indeed, the whole American continent. South America, too, felt

* France had ceded Louisiana to Spain near the end of the Seven Years' War (1763), "as some compensation for losses incurred by Spain on her behalf."

the shock of Napoleon's wars, which caused a sudden and violent change in her history.

Ever since the days of Columbus and Magellan * Spain and Portugal had held vast colonies in South America. But when Napoleon conquered Spain (1808), the Spanish colonies, one after another, began to struggle for independence. They were anxious to be free of all the restrictions Spain had put upon their trade, and they found a great leader in Simon Bolivar of Venezuela, who was known as the Liberator.

Bolivar was a noble by birth, who had travelled in Europe, and it is said that in the ancient city of Rome he swore an oath to make a great attempt to free his country. In the battles which followed, he was the central figure to whom the armies of independence looked for leadership, and, scornful of fear, he would boldly face the enemy in a striking uniform of scarlet and gold.

The struggle was long and bitter, and not until 1824 did Bolivar win the final victory. There were tried and seasoned Spanish troops to face, slaves were armed against their masters, and treachery showed itself on both sides. The country itself was full of dangers which had to be braved and overcome; the rivers which the troops had to cross were infested by numbers of



Simon Bolivar.

* See *The House of History : the Second Storey.*

murderous fish, which destroyed men in a few minutes, earthquakes shattered camps and barracks, and marches were carried out in tropical heat.

At one time the cause seemed lost, and Bolivar had to fly and take refuge in the negro republic of Haiti. Here he received so much kindness that he afterwards set free all his own negro slaves, although this meant great loss to him, and offended most of his South American friends.

At last triumph came. Venezuela's lead had been followed by Peru, Chile, and the Argentine. At Lima, the capital of Peru, the people boldly invaded the dread rooms where, not long before, the Spanish Inquisition (so famous in the days of Drake and Raleigh) had held trials of those who were suspected of disloyalty to the Roman Catholic Church. They gazed horror-struck at the instruments of torture which they found there.

When Bolivar and the northern forces joined those from the more southerly colonies, South America was freed from the Spaniard.

Brazil remained faithful to Portugal for a long time, as the Portuguese royal family took refuge there when Napoleon invaded their country. A Portuguese empire was founded in Brazil, and it was not until 1889 that it became a republic.

Meanwhile the Liberator found that he could not give South America peace and unity as well as liberty. The people were unused to governing themselves, and endless quarrels arose. The peasants missed the rich Spanish nobles who had set them their tasks and allotted them their food, and they missed, too, the processions and amusements which the old royalist government provided. Nevertheless, through years of wrangling, hardship, and bloodshed the new states never deserted their republican ideals for long.

Bolivar himself had given them their spirit. Once at a banquet, an admirer in proposing a toast had suggested that if ever an empire should be founded Bolivar should be emperor! Upon this a patriot sprang up and cried: "Should Bolivar allow himself to be declared emperor, may his blood

flow from his heart as the wine now does from my glass!" and he poured his wine upon the floor.

Bolivar rose and grasped his hand, and exclaimed that such a spirit was the best defence of the country's liberty.

§ 3. In the trials of the long struggle Britain had been a good friend to the new South American republics. A large number of English volunteers fought under Bolivar,



George Canning.

(After the portrait by Lawrence.)

and an Irishman and an Englishman commanded the first fleets the republics sent to sea. It was, however, the British Prime Minister, Canning, who really gave South America the opportunity of fighting its way to freedom.

England, under Canning's guidance, stood between the violent kind of democracy (which Europe looked upon as Jacobinism * revived) and the despotism of the old nations under the old royal houses, who wished to stamp out all democracy lest there should be another revolution as terrible as that of France in 1789.

* See Chapter 25.

In England's own year of panic (1794), reformers had said: "Because Frenchmen have abused their liberties, Britons are deprived of theirs." This was even more true of Europe after Waterloo.

Austria, Russia, and Prussia had bound themselves together, in what they described as a Holy Alliance, to crush any signs of Jacobinism, and France supported them. When there was a rising in Spain (1820) against its despotic king, and he was forced to summon a Parliament, the Holy Alliance immediately threatened the Spanish people with war, and a French army invaded Spain, and did not withdraw until the king was restored to power. Democratic risings were also quelled in Naples and Portugal.

Britain protested against such interference. And when France wanted a European army to be sent to South America to reconquer the Spanish colonies, Canning made it clear that the British fleet would not allow such an army to land on American soil.

In this the United States agreed, and President Monroe made the famous declaration known as the Monroe Doctrine (1823). In this he warned Europe that the United States would consider any future attempts to found colonies in America, or interfere in any way there, as hostile acts. America has upheld this doctrine ever since. It may be said to mean that America is for Americans only; but sometimes disputes arise as to the right of other nations to protect their subjects who are carrying on business in America.

Thus, with the goodwill of Britain and the United States, the South American republics gained independence, and the name of one of them, Bolivia, commemorates the great Liberator. Now at last England could develop the South American trade which she had hankered after since the days of Drake, tried to secure by trickery at the time of the South Sea Bubble, and fought for in the war of Jenkins' Ear.*

The South American republics are rich in rare drugs

* See Chapter 4.

(such as quinine, which is made from cinchona bark), and chemicals, and rubber. To-day Argentina exports more meat and corn than any other country in the world, and to Britain, which cannot now grow enough food for her own people, the friendship of this rapidly developing republic is of great importance, while the two countries are well fitted to supply each other's needs.

Spanish and Portuguese remain the principal languages of South America ; but Britain has more trading and business connections with the republics than any other European nation.

31. The United States and Abraham Lincoln

Civil War in the U.S.A., 1861-65

§ 1. During the nineteenth century the United States of America grew rapidly. The promise of this vast, thinly peopled continent drew men from many nations, who wished to start life with new hope, such as the Irish immigrants who flocked there after the potato famine in 1845.

In 1848 the discovery of gold in California brought a rush of gold-diggers of many nationalities. New states were formed, and they joined the federation of the United States. And new problems of government arose. But the greatest problem of all was how to make men divided by so many differences of race and customs into one nation.

In the southern states, such as Virginia and the Carolinas, the owners of the great estates still tried to live like the English squires from whom they were descended. They provided for the gangs of slaves, who worked on their rice and cotton and tobacco plantations, with the same practical care as an English squire gave to his hunters and cattle.

The Northerners still preserved the severe, hard-working spirit of their Puritan forefathers. The tide of immigrants who poured in to try their fortune in this new country were democratic, determined to stand for freedom from the re-

strictions of the Old World, and not to suffer privileged classes to grow up amongst them.

Thus differences soon arose. The South held that each state should be as independent as possible, whereas the North wished to strengthen the United States government. The South wished to see slavery allowed in the new states as the custom of the land, while the North looked coldly upon slavery, yet believed the plantations of the South could scarcely be worked without it. The immigrant gold-miners of California insisted vigorously that California must be "free soil" to any men who came there.

Earlier in the century the man who was to take the leading part in founding the real "United" States and in abolishing slavery, was growing up in the backwoods of Indiana in a rough log-cabin, made of wood split from the trees of a pathless forest, into which pioneers had to cut and break their way to make each little clearing for a homestead. Here both father and mother used the rifle to shoot bears, deer, and wild turkeys for the family dinner, and the mother made shirts, coats, and leather shoes from the skins and hides.

As soon as he was big enough, this boy, named Abraham Lincoln, had to take his share in chopping wood, splitting rails for fences, and ploughing up land which no man had touched before. His mother taught him to read, and in time a little backwoods school was opened in the neighbourhood, and there he learned writing and arithmetic. The family stock of books consisted of the Bible, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and *Æsop's Fables*. Of these Abraham learned long pieces by heart; and when he could borrow other books he wrote out favourite passages on bits of smooth wood.

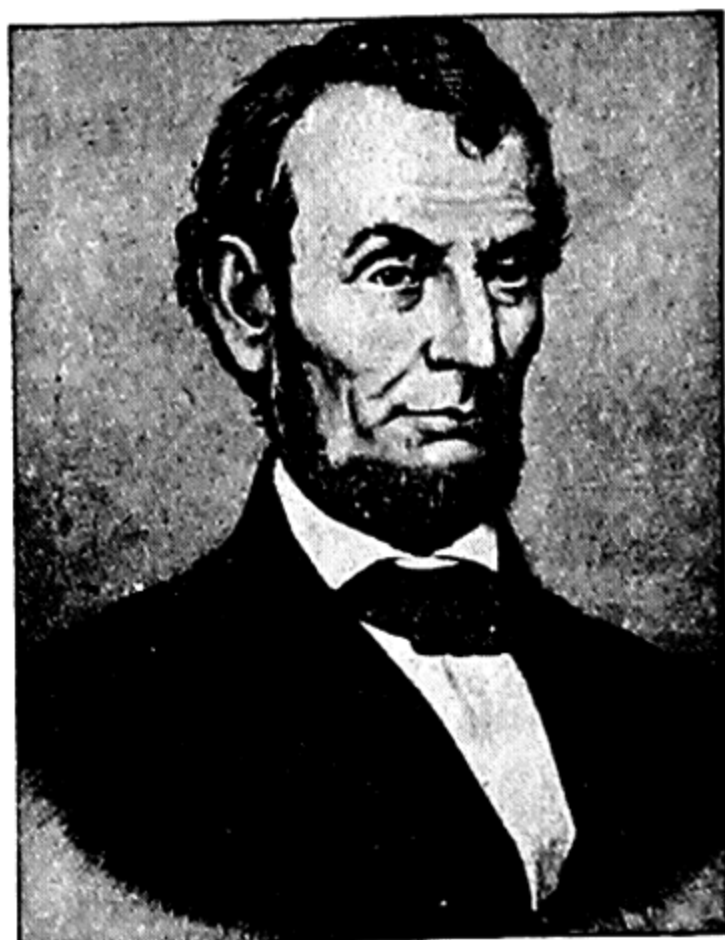
Abraham Lincoln grew up to be six feet four inches in height, strong and spare, his face marked by earnest determination, but not unkindly or hard. It was said that none of the other youths in the neighbourhood could "lay him on his back."

As a young man he turned his hand to many things.

He took loads of goods down the river in a flat-bottomed boat. He made fences, served in a store, and acted as postmaster in his village. On one of his trips down the river he saw a slave-market. After watching a negro girl as she was made to walk up and down before one customer after another, Lincoln exclaimed to a friend: "Let's get away from this! If ever I get a chance to hit that thing, I'll hit it hard."

All through his youth Lincoln studied as much as he could, and at last he was able to enter into partnership with a lawyer. He would never take a case which was not honourable. To one man who came to him for advice, he said that he might win the case and get six hundred dollars by causing the ruin of an honest family; but he had better go home and think how he could make six hundred dollars by fair means.

Lincoln's upright strength of character, his knowledge (amongst people who had little time or opportunity for education), and his kindly temper won the trust and affectionate pride of his neighbours, and at twenty-five he was elected a member of the Parliament of Illinois.



Abraham Lincoln.

In public work the same qualities soon won the same trust and respect, and in 1861, at the age of fifty-two, he became President of the United States of America.

§ 2. During Lincoln's presidency the trouble between North and South came to a head, and the Southern States finally declared that they would leave the "United" States and set up a government for the South alone, under the name of the Confederacy.



The Battle of Gettysburg, 1863.

A three days' fight in which General Meade defeated General Lee. (*From the painting by Wenderoth.*)

Now a great decision had to be made. Was America to be split into two, perhaps more, nations, or was unity to be enforced by war between men of the same race and language?

Although sorely troubled, Lincoln called up the militia of the states "to maintain the honour, the integrity, and existence of the National Union."

At first the Northern States were not so ready for war as the South, and the Southerners had the best generals in "Stonewall" Jackson and Robert Lee. The civil war lasted four years, and after Lincoln announced that the North was fighting not only for unity, but for the abolition of slavery, the Southerners resisted even more desperately than before.

At last the numbers, resources, and steadfastness of the North began to wear down the brilliant, spirited resistance of the South. Finally Lee was completely surrounded by the army of General Grant, and had to surrender without conditions. Grant, a plain, simple little man, was careful to arrange that the proud Southern officers should keep their handsome swords.

Lincoln knew the bitterness of heart with which the South must yield, and he urged all the states to devote themselves "without malice" to "binding up the nation's wounds."

In a fine speech he declared: "We here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

It was a tragedy that Abraham Lincoln did not live to guide the united nation himself. On the very night that the end of the war was celebrated in Washington, a mad actor crept up behind the President as he sat in a theatre, and shot him through the head.

So the new America had lost the guiding hand of one who might have spared her much bitterness in the difficult years of creating unity. A friend, in announcing Lincoln's death, said: "Now he belongs to the ages."

It was a long time before the sores of war were healed. Many wealthy Southern families were almost beggared by the loss of their slaves, for which they received no compensation ; many slaves were helpless and unhappy when left to themselves, after being provided for by their masters during so many years.

At last new activity, and the swift development of the country when a railway was constructed across America from Atlantic to Pacific, swept away old customs and rankling memories. All the energies of the United States were fully absorbed in the wonderful growth of her industry and commerce.

The United States came to the forefront of the industrial nations, powerful, rich, and vigorous, with a larger population under one government than any other nation. Her problems are still largely concerned with the difficulties of keeping up a real national unity amongst men of many different races.

32. The Making of Germany and Italy, etc.

Belgium, 1830 ; Greece, 1832 ; Italy, 1861 ; Germany, 1871

§ 1. It was largely owing to the British Prime Minister, Canning,* that the ideal of liberty was not altogether stamped out in Europe after Waterloo.

Greece, a small Christian nation, rose against her master, Mohammedan Turkey ; but she could not have stood her ground without support, and England took a leading part in supporting her.

England had learned to sympathize with Greece through Lord Byron, the poet, who loved her historic land and literature, and loved freedom even more passionately. After he had visited Greece, and seen Marathon, where the

* Chapters 30, § 3 ; 33, § 5.

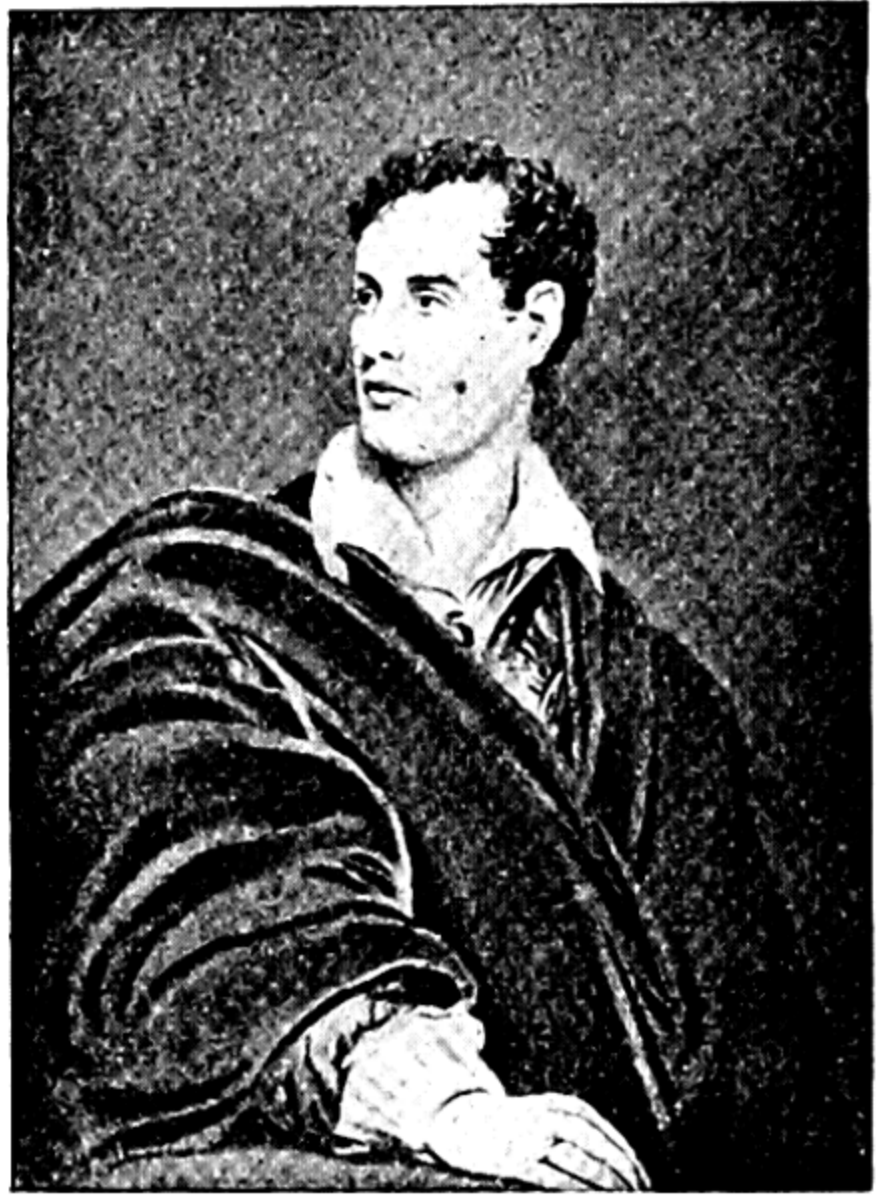
Greeks won their great victory in 490 B.C. over an invading host of Persians, he wrote :

“ The mountains look on Marathon—
And Marathon looks on the sea ;
And musing there an hour alone
I dream'd that Greece might still be free ;
For standing on the Persians' grave
I could not deem myself a slave.”

Byron did more than dream over the vision of a free Greece ; when she rose against the tyrant Turks he went to take part in the struggle, and died on Greek soil before her liberty was won.

Canning meanwhile persuaded reluctant English statesmen that a free Greece was the best defence against an over-masterful Russia in eastern Europe ; and finally a fleet, led by British ships, destroyed the Turkish navy at Navarino (1827), and Greece won her fight for independence, and was formed into an independent kingdom in 1832.

Meanwhile Belgium had broken away from Holland, to which she had been joined in 1815, and, with the support of France and England, gained her independence in 1830.



Lord Byron.

§ 2. Still Europe was not in a healthy state. Reasonable liberties had been withheld in some nations, and in others it seemed impossible to allay the spirit of unrest

which revolution and war (1789-1815) had left behind them. France suffered from this most of all.

Louis XVIII. was followed by Charles X., who foolishly tried to revive the old despotic powers of the French kings, with the result that the citizens of Paris gathered in the streets as if they were preparing to storm another Bastille.

Charles X. fled to England, and was succeeded by the democratic Louis Philippe, known as the Citizen King. Yet the French Government was not really democratic, as only a small number of people could vote for Parliament.



Napoleon III.

At last, in "the year of revolutions" (1848), disturbances arose once more. Again the democrats stirred up the citizens of Paris, and barricades of paving stones, carts, and furniture were thrown up ready for street fighting. Louis Philippe, in his turn, fled to England, and a new republic was proclaimed.

The republican government was not able to bring order out of the general confusion. So France, desperate at the prospect of another Terror, called Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great emperor, to the rescue. Louis Napoleon was made President of the Republic; but within a few years he had banished or seized all the staunch republicans, and France was ready to proclaim him emperor as Napoleon III. (1852).

§ 3. Meanwhile the spirit of revolution had spread in 1848 like wildfire, and roused all those nations where democratic reforms had been denied earlier in the century.

In Italy there were a number of states under different rulers, and the whole country had suffered so much from

Austrian and French interference that its people could not think of themselves as one nation. Now the great patriot Mazzini revived the ideals of liberty and love of country, and with the help of a fine, heroic soldier, Garibaldi, he established a Roman republic which lasted for a short time (1849).

It was, however, too early; Italy was not yet prepared or fitted to defend herself, much less to make herself a nation. Mazzini and Garibaldi had to fly from the country.

Eleven years later Garibaldi, with an army of a thousand red-shirted patriots, rallied Italy to fight for her freedom, and helped to make her a united and independent kingdom. This could not have been done by arms alone. Cavour, a wise statesman of the kingdom of Sardinia (Sardinia and Piedmont), prepared the way for Garibaldi's triumphs, and the young King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel, was a good soldier and patriot too, and a worthy king for the new Italy (1861).



Garibaldi.

§ 4. In Austria the year 1848 was marked by the rising in Hungary under another patriot leader, Kossuth, against the despotic rule of the Austrian emperor.

Kossuth demanded a constitution and equal rights for the Hungarians, and democrats rose in his support in Vienna, while the emperor gave up his crown to his nephew, Francis Joseph.

After a fine stand Kossuth had to surrender, but the Emperor of Austria was not crowned King of Hungary until

1867. No real attempt was made to protect the other subject peoples—Slavic and Roumanian—of the Austrian Empire, and the smouldering discontent blazed up again in the twentieth century.

§ 5. The most striking fact in the last part of the nineteenth century in Europe was the rise of Germany. Before this time all the states which occupied the land we know as Germany were almost independent, with kings and princes of their own. Prussia had, however, become the leading member of this group of states; Frederick the Great of Prussia had won this position for his own country in the Seven Years' War.*

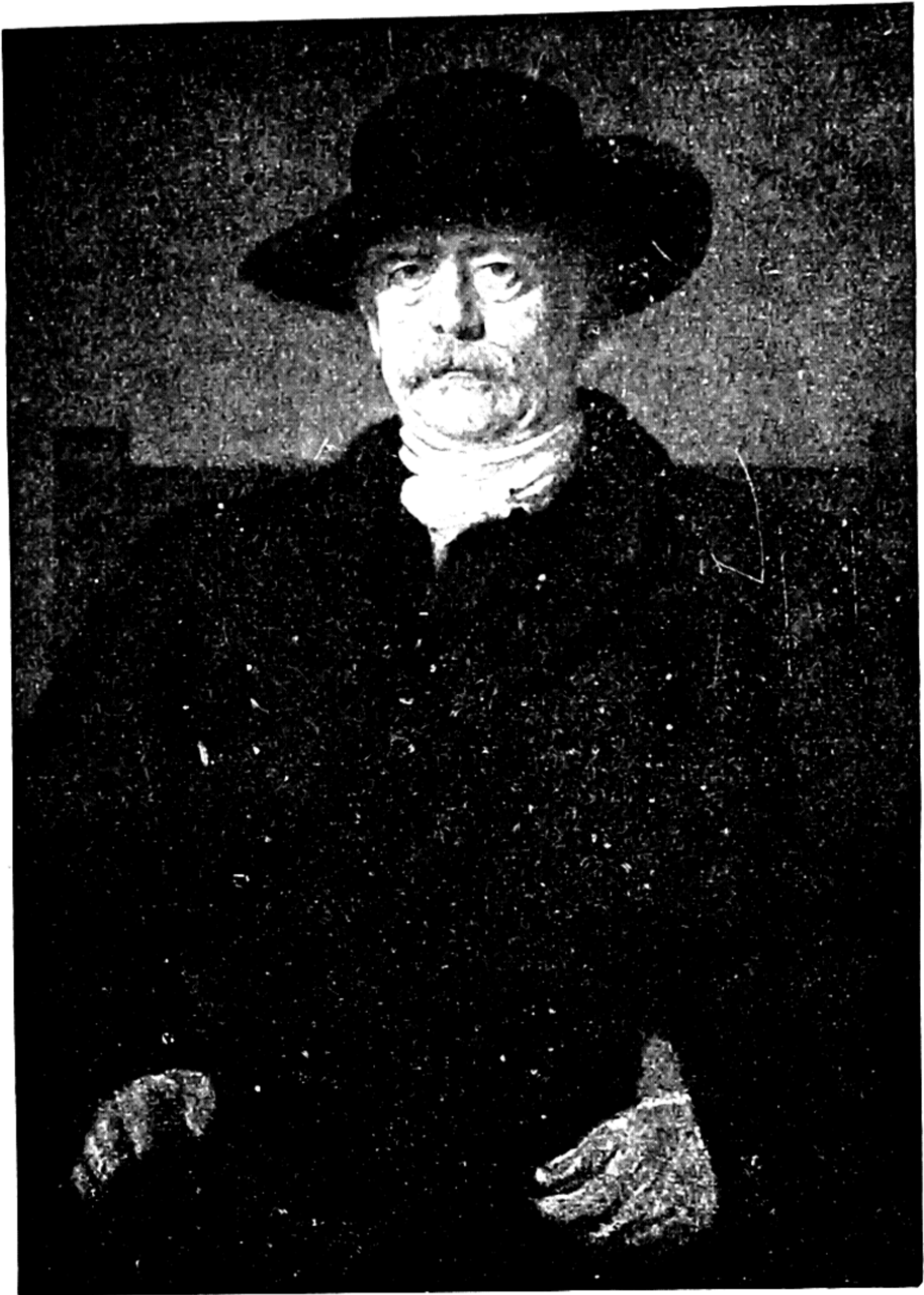
By the middle of the nineteenth century the German states were anxious to become a real power in Europe, but they could not agree on any form of government, until at last one strong Prussian statesman took the lead and made a nation of them.

The man who made Germany first a nation and then an empire was not a picturesque liberator like Bolivar, or a patriot burning with great ideas like Mazzini, or an heroic but simple-minded soldier like Garibaldi, who made his thousand "red-shirts" into an army of liberators simply by faith and courage.

Bismarck, the maker of Germany, was strong and powerful in body and mind, and he believed in action more than in ideas. Democracy was too slow and uncertain for him. He could not patiently teach the German people through speeches in Parliament after Parliament, and wait for the votes of the majority before he moved. These methods, he said, would never make a nation; the states needed blood and iron to weld them together into one people.

By blood and iron Bismarck meant war, and in his first war he fought against Denmark. Then he turned against Austria, which had hitherto been considered the head of

* See Chapter 8, § 4.



Prince Bismarck.

(From the portrait by Franz von Lenbach.)

those German states which had been part of the Holy Roman Empire. After a seven weeks' war Bismarck was

rewarded by a great Prussian victory at Sadowa (1866), and then Austria gave up all claim to be the leading power among the German states.

Austria was now of less importance in Europe than Prussia; but before Prussia founded the German Empire Bismarck resorted to blood and iron once more.

By this time France was anxious and resentful about the rise of Prussia; she did not like to see another great military nation growing from strength to strength so near her own borders. So Napoleon III.* declared war on Prussia, and the stern Bismarck rejoiced, because he knew that now his great opportunity had come.

This third war drew all the German states more closely together than ever before, and there was no further question of obedience to Prussia.

The strong, new Germany, with the spirit of Bismarck nerving it to strike sternly and hard, soon overwhelmed the French armies, which had not advanced in training since the time of the great Napoleon. One French army surrendered at Sedan (1870); another was surrounded in Metz; Napoleon III. himself was taken prisoner, and triumphant and resolute German troops besieged Paris.

The citizens of Paris held out bravely, until they were starving, and at last France had to ask for peace. The Franco-German War was at an end. Blood and iron had done Bismarck's work: the states of Germany formed themselves into an empire, and Wilhelm I., King of Prussia, was declared German Emperor at Versailles.

§ 6. The proclamation of the new German Empire was made in the vast Hall of Mirrors, of which the long walls are completely lined with looking-glass, in the magnificent palace Louis XIV. had built at Versailles. In the same hall, forty-eight years later, peace was signed after the Great War of 1914-18.

The defeat of the Emperor Napoleon III. caused another revolution in France. Communists seized Paris and

* See § 2.

tried to drive out the acting government. Street fighting and fires raged for some weeks, and many buildings were destroyed. Amongst the buildings burned down was the Tuileries palace, which had seen such scenes of gaiety under the old French kings, and also the flight and sad return of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, and then the stately, military processions and grand reviews of Napoleon's court, and his return to the agitated city after his escape from Elba.

This last revolution in Paris (1871) led to the formation of a republic—the third—which has never since been overthrown.

By the treaty of 1871 France gave up two of her provinces—Alsace and Lorraine—to Germany, and promised to pay a large sum of money.

The industrious and economical French people soon paid the money, and the efforts they made led to such an improvement in their trade that they did not suffer from poverty for long. But the bitterness over the surrender of the two unwilling provinces never died down. In the treaty of 1919 Alsace and Lorraine were restored to France, and Europe learned that settlements which place men of one race or nation under the rule of another always lead to unrest, and eventually to war.

THE MAKING OF MODERN BRITAIN

33. The Problem of Ireland

Plantation of Ulster, 1611; Act of Union, 1800; Roman Catholics emancipated, 1829

§ 1. Both the American and the French revolutions had considerable effect on Ireland, and to understand this her previous history must be reviewed.

The history of Ireland is full of tragic mistakes on the part of the English rulers of the country, which have made the record of the relations between the two countries a story of strife, often culminating in bloodshed. But, as we shall see, that long period of sorrow may now become one of "old unhappy far-off things," and of "battles long ago."

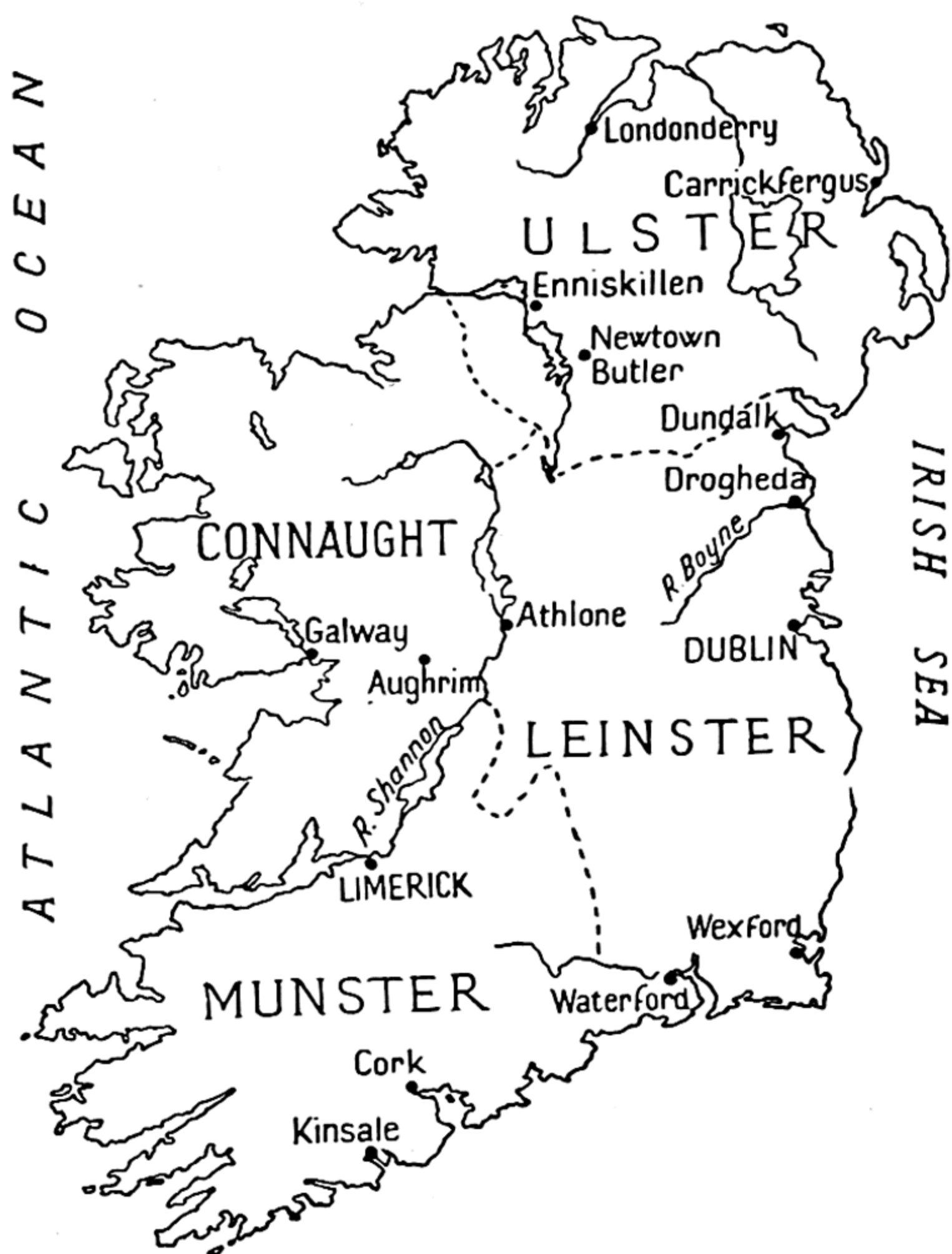
England and Ireland did not understand each other well, and after the Reformation the breach between them widened, because the Irish remained ardent Roman Catholics, while most of the English became sternly Protestant.

As the differences increased, England scarcely tried to understand Ireland. Instead, her policy was to root out as many as possible of these tiresome "wild Irish," and try to repeople the island with English and Scottish settlers, who would be far more satisfactory neighbours.

The fact that it was considered a duty to persecute Roman Catholics in England itself, and allow them no part in public life or government, made it seem very right and proper to suppress them in Ireland.

The first big attempt to repeople Ireland had been made early in James I.'s reign, when the whole province of Ulster, in Northern Ireland, was taken from Irish landowners who had been rebellious, and divided between a number of

IRELAND



English and Scottish settlers and trading companies. This was called the "Plantation of Ireland" (1611). Even the Irish peasants were driven off the land, and had to take refuge amongst the hills and in wild places, where it was impossible to make more than the barest living.

The new settlers were all Protestants, and they were more business-like and hard-working than the dreamy Irishmen—whose wit was often so much keener than their industry—and they made Ulster the most prosperous province in the whole of Ireland.

Yet the case of Ulster is another example of the difficulties of making settlements against the nationality of peoples. Three hundred years later, in the twentieth century, Ulster and Southern Ireland seemed to be two different nations, and the island was divided under two governments.*

§ 2. The process of repopling Ireland was carried on all through the seventeenth century. Under Cromwell there was only one province, and that the poorest, where Irishmen might settle freely, and they complained bitterly that they were driven "to hell or to Connaught." The cruelty of Cromwell's suppression of Irish risings in favour of the Stuarts is even now remembered with horror.

The favours of Charles II., and of the openly Roman Catholic James II., revived hope and spirit in the Irish, and they rose whole-heartedly to help James to recover his throne. The story of how William III. defeated them at the battle of the Boyne (1690) has already been told.†

This struggle left fresh bitterness between England and Ireland. It ended in a prolonged siege of Limerick, which the Irish defenders only surrendered when William's general signed a treaty on the spot, by which he undertook that the Irish Roman Catholics should have just the same liberties as under Charles II.

The general had not really power to grant this, and the

* See Chapter 48.

† *The House of History : the Second Storey.*

government would not carry it out, and the "broken treaty" of Limerick became a great Irish grievance.

After this many Irishmen left their country and became soldiers in the armies of various Catholic countries in Europe, and so often found themselves fighting the English.

Under William III. and under Anne the laws against Roman Catholics in Ireland were made still more strict. As in England, no Roman Catholic could sit in Parliament or vote for a member of Parliament; nor could he be a judge, a lawyer, a magistrate, or an officer in the army or navy. In addition, officers could search the houses of Roman Catholics for arms, and no Irish Catholic might own a horse worth more than five pounds, or buy or inherit land. If a son turned Protestant, he became owner of his Catholic father's property, and a Protestant wife need not obey a Catholic husband, and could claim part of his income to use as she pleased.

At the same time the Irish were forbidden to export goods to any British colony, and only certain Irish ports were allowed to ship goods to England.

The land laws were equally harsh; it was not the custom, as in England, for landlords to provide buildings and keep fences in repair, and landlords could turn out their tenants as soon as they wished to do so.

It was difficult for the majority of the Irish to get any hearing for grievances, as their Parliament was entirely Protestant. Moreover, under a law passed in Henry VII.'s reign, known as Poynings' Law, the Irish Parliament could not discuss anything at all unless permission had been given by the King of England and his Privy Council.

§ 3. Under the Georges, Ireland began to lift up her head and struggle once more. A man of genius—Jonathan Swift, Dean of Dublin, who was the author of *Gulliver's Travels*—wrote some famous letters* on Irish troubles,

* *Drapier's Letters*.

with stinging criticisms of the system of government, and he roused a new Irish patriotism. New champions of Irish liberty came forward, amongst them Grattan, a brilliant speaker, who founded a Patriot Party and fought for the independence of the Irish Parliament. "I want," he said, "to control the wild spirit of democratic liberty by the regulated spirit of organized liberty."



Jonathan Swift.

At this time the American Declaration of Independence (1776) came to stir Irish blood afresh, and now for the first time Protestant Ulster and the Roman Catholics of the south joined in one movement, and raised an army of volunteers to defend the coast from invasion by adventurous American pirates. Also a convention was called, supported by the volunteers, which demanded freedom of action for the Irish Parliament.

The English Government had sent all available troops to America,

and was anxious not to raise another war of independence in Ireland, and so at last Poyning's Law was repealed, and the Irish Parliament was thus set free to discuss any measures it chose (1782).

An independent Parliament had been won, but it was not representative of the Irish people, as its members were all Protestants, and many of them not of Irish birth.

Nevertheless, one of the Acts (1793) of this free Pro-

testant Parliament gave the vote to Roman Catholics.* For once north and south seemed to have drawn together as one nation.

§ 4. Still most of the laws against Roman Catholics remained in force, and when the French Revolution broke out Irish patriots were once more inflamed to strike for liberty. The Society of United Irishmen was formed, with some Protestants amongst its leaders, to work for a representative Parliament.

Unfortunately George III.'s determination to give no more rights to Roman Catholics made them lose hope of success by peaceful means, and France was always ready to listen to appeals for help against England. A clever young Irish Protestant, Wolfe Tone, brought a French fleet across to Ireland, but a great storm drove the ships off the shore. He was eventually captured and tried for treason, when he made a fine speech in defence of Ireland's claim to freedom, and pleaded that, as a French officer, he might be shot as a soldier rather than hanged as a criminal. He was condemned to be hanged, but committed suicide in prison.

After this rebellion (1798) the English, exasperated by Irish treachery in the midst of the struggle with Napoleon, carried out cruel measures, and another bitter memory was added to the score against England in Irish hearts.

Now William Pitt the Younger came to the rescue. He had always wished to establish free trade between England and Ireland, and now he felt that the one hope of saving Ireland from becoming a nest of rebels, kept down by force, was to unite the two countries, and let Ireland share the government, privileges, and fortunes of Great Britain.

There were many difficulties. Pitt felt that such a union ought to be followed by Catholic emancipation—that is, the freeing of Roman Catholics from disadvantages, and giving them exactly the same rights as British citizens who were

* English and Scottish Roman Catholics were not allowed the parliamentary vote till 1829.

Protestants. Without this, there could be no real freedom or reform for Ireland, although union with Britain would improve her trade.

Once again George III. was obstinate; he would not hear of Catholic emancipation, and even his favourite Pitt could not move him. He honestly believed that he would be breaking his Coronation oath—to preserve the religion of the country—if he granted this demand.

§ 5. So the Act of Union was passed in 1800, during the war with Napoleon, and carried out in the next year; but



Daniel O'Connell.

Catholic emancipation did not follow for nearly thirty years. By the Union, Ireland lost her own Parliament, and elected a hundred members to sit in the British House of Commons. The kingdom was now called the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the flag adopted was a new Union Jack, which combines the crosses of St. George (English), St. Andrew (Scottish), and St. Patrick (Irish). This same flag was adopted later by the British Dominions overseas,

with their own badge in the centre.*

For twenty years Ireland was exhausted and submissive, thankful for bare peace. Then a new leader arose to carry on the fight for Catholic emancipation which Grattan had begun. This was Daniel O'Connell, a great hero of Irish history. He formed a Catholic Association, which soon numbered thousands of members, all of whom paid a shilling a year, called Catholic rent. O'Connell would have gained his object sooner if the British Prime

* In 1927 the Union of South Africa adopted a flag of its own, but it was to be flown side by side with the Union Jack.

Minister, Canning,* who approved of liberty in religion as well as in government, had lived longer.

As it happened, this struggle, like several others, took place when the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister. The duke appointed an Irish member of Parliament to be President of the Board of Trade, and after the appointment there had to be a fresh election. In this election at Clare (in Ireland) the President of the Board of Trade was defeated, and electors flocked to vote for O'Connell. Yet O'Connell could not enter Parliament because he was a Catholic.

Ireland remained quiet, but there was a strong feeling that Great Britain was trembling on the edge of civil war. And so at last the duke and his fellow-statesman Peel were won over to the cause of emancipation, and, although George IV. disliked it, they were able to win him over too, and the Bill was passed which gave Roman Catholics the full rights of British citizens (1829).

34. England after Waterloo : William Cobbett's "Rural Rides"

New Corn Law, 1815 ; "Peterloo Massacre," 1819

§ 1. When the twenty years' struggle with Napoleon was brought to an end at Waterloo (1815), Englishmen hoped that a time of peace and prosperity lay before them.

During the war goods had piled up in factories because only a part of what Britain could make with the new machinery could be smuggled into Europe, and so both manufacturers and workers suffered. Many of the workers blamed the new machinery for all their troubles, and in some places parties of machine wreckers broke into mills and destroyed all they could. These attacks were called Luddite riots, from the name of a boy, Ned Ludd, who refused to work, was whipped by order of a magistrate, and then broke up his stocking-knitting frame with a hammer.

* See Chapter 30, § 3.

The machine wreckers in Nottingham wrote out proclamations and signed them "Ned Ludd."

After Waterloo the hopes of manufacturers rose high, because now there seemed no reason why they should not send out their goods once more as fast as ships could carry them. In their eagerness to capture foreign trade some even made absurd mistakes, such as sending out cargoes of skates to tropical countries where ice was never seen!

Soon they were disappointed. Ships could take out the goods, but they could not force foreigners to buy them, and the countries of Europe were so poor after the war (just as they were after the recent Great War) that they could not afford to buy British goods, although they wanted them badly.

The one thing which they could offer in exchange for manufactures was corn. This corn would have been cheaper than that grown in England, where the climate is not so favourable, and where farmers had bought land at high prices, and would be ruined if they sold their wheat cheaply.

Statesmen had now a great problem to face. Were they to let cheap corn come into England and take away the living of landlords, farmers, and labourers on the land? If they did, it would help the manufacturers, because foreigners would be able to buy more English goods when they had sold their corn; it would also mean more work for town labourers, and cheaper bread for every one.

Parliament had to decide between the two plans, and it decided to protect the landlords and farmers, partly because so many members of Parliament were landlords, and partly because far more English people lived on the land then, and the ruin of farming would have brought great distress upon thousands of homes, from manor-house to cottage.

So a Corn Law (1815) was passed, which kept foreign corn out of the country, unless the price of home-grown corn had reached 80s. per quarter—that is, unless there was such a scarcity of English corn that its price rose very high indeed.

With the price of bread high, labourers found it very hard to feed their families, especially in the country, where wages remained low. In the towns children could earn

their bread in the mills. However, the country labourers were not left to starve, because every man obtained bread-money from the Poor Law Overseer if his wages were not enough to buy a certain amount of bread for each member of his family.*

The payment of bread-money by the parish led to farmers paying lower wages, and sometimes the parish overseer sold the labour of the men to farmers cheaply. In some places men receiving bread-money had to stand in the village "pound" (a walled space with a gate, in which



The ploughing team.

strayed animals were placed until claimed) waiting for work to be found for them.

Soon in every village numbers of people were partly living on bread-money, and it was hard for any one to get work at a full wage.

So all classes suffered in the years after Waterloo. The manufacturers suffered because they could not sell their goods to foreigners, who had nothing but corn to offer in exchange; the factory workers, because there was less work for them; and both town and country labourers suffered from the high prices of food. Landlords and

* This arrangement, begun in 1795, was embodied in the "Speenhamland Act," so called because it had been introduced by Berkshire magistrates at Speenhamland.

farmers suffered least, but they had to pay high rates to the parish for the bread-money allowances, and it happened that several bad harvests came together.

The discontent in the country soon set men asking for reforms. They felt that Parliament ought to be able to help and protect them, and they began to say that so long as most members of Parliament were landlords they would protect only those who lived on the land, and they could not



The churning.

even understand the troubles of manufacturers and town workers.

§ 2. Hence there arose a great demand for parliamentary reform—for members to represent the big manufacturing towns, and for more men to have the vote all over the country.

One of the leaders of this movement was William Cobbett (1762–1835). He had been born when most Englishmen still lived on the land, and his first home was called “The Jolly Farmer Inn.” His father worked hard on his farm, as well as keeping an inn, and as a very small boy Cobbett was sent out to the fields with a rattle to scare birds from the freshly sown seeds, or young corn—a tiny

figure in a blue smock with red garters tied round his knees, to whom every stile that had to be climbed on the way home to dinner or bed was a great adventure.

Sometimes, for a holiday, he would be sent to his grandmother's cottage, which had a damson tree on one side of the door and a clump of filberts on the other. She gave him bread and milk for breakfast, an apple pudding for



William Cobbett.

dinner, and a piece of bread and cheese for supper; the cottage fire was made of turf, and the only light was a rush dipped in grease.

Cobbett never forgot the simple, hard, but wholesome country life he had lived as a boy. In later life, when, after adventures in America and England, he had a comfortable and prosperous farmhouse of his own, he hated to see more and more of the country-side and its people swallowed up

by the growing factory towns. He wrote as if he were shaking his fist in the face of the advancing Industrial Revolution ; but he could not check it.

In 1819, four years after Waterloo, Cobbett came back from America, to which he had been forced to flee after he had complained too boldly about cruel floggings in the army. Cobbett brought home the bones of the exiled Tom Paine * for burial in England, and he came to fight in the cause of reform.

In the same year a big meeting of about fifty thousand people was held at St. Peter's Fields, near Manchester, to press for reform. The magistrates thought such a meeting was illegal, and the yeomanry were sent to arrest the leaders. A disturbance followed, the military charged with sabres, and some of the crowd were killed. This scene was afterwards called the Peterloo Massacre.

In 1819, too, were passed the Six Acts—Acts of Parliament which forbade public meetings, permitted search for arms in private houses, placed stamp taxes on cheap newspapers, and tried in other ways to make it difficult for the people to create disturbances. They were called by many people the "Gag Acts."

§ 3. Cobbett founded a cheap newspaper to teach the need of parliamentary reform to workers. It was soon known as *Cobbett's Twopenny Trash*. He also rode about the country talking to farmers and labourers, finding out about their troubles, and preaching reform at village inns and in market towns. He rode many miles, a stalwart figure in a red waistcoat, content with an apple or a drink of milk by the road. Often he would give to some poor labourer or ragged child the money he saved by not having any dinner.

Cobbett's *Rural Rides* gives us many pictures of England in the years after Waterloo—of country roads so bad that some villagers lived out their lives without ever visiting a town four miles away ; of a team of labourers yoked to a

* See Chapter 26, § 2.

plough, the leading man wearing a bell ; of little girls in camlet gowns, white aprons, and plaid shawls, who told him that the great lady of the village had given them these clothes and the prayer-books they were carrying to her



Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle.

(From a contemporary engraving.)

ladyship's Sunday school ; of sheep on the hillside " like a string of pearls, turning their tails to the wind."

With Cobbett we can visit all the villages and deserted towns which still sent members to Parliament while Manchester and Birmingham had none. One of these Cobbett found at Great Bedwin, near Marlborough, which consisted of only a few poor houses. To Cobbett's disgust he found in the middle of the village " a thing about 25 feet long and 15 feet wide, being a room stuck up on unhewed stone

(3,564)

pillars about 10 feet high. It was the Town Hall, where the ceremony of choosing two members of Parliament is performed."

Such places were soon bought up by some rich man, who chose the two members himself; or a landlord could put his own servants into every house on condition that they voted as he pleased. Many such places, carrying a seat in Parliament, were bought and sold for large sums, and in some towns the corporation sold the seat; they were called "pocket boroughs" and "rotten boroughs."

Their owners considered them as much their property as a house or carriage could be. The Duke of Newcastle considered he owned the town of Newark in this way, and once when the voters refused to vote for the member he had chosen, the duke asked passionately in the House of Lords: "May I not do what I will with my own?"

One of the most famous of these pocket boroughs was Old Sarum, near Salisbury, once a famous place, but by this time just a deserted mound, for which the landlord could send two members to Parliament! Here is Cobbett's account of his visit to Old Sarum, and his talk with a labourer on the hillside. Cobbett always called the mound the Accursed Hill.

"Here rises the Accursed Hill. It is very lofty. . . . When seen from a distance it somewhat resembles three cheeses, laid one upon another; the bottom one a great deal broader than the next, and the top one like a Stilton cheese in proportion to a Gloucester one. . . . As I was going up a hill towards it, I met a man going home from work. I asked how he got on? He said, very badly. I asked him what was the cause of it? He said the hard times. 'What times?' said I; 'was there ever a finer summer, a finer harvest?' . . . Ah," said he, "they make it bad for poor people for all that."

"*They?*" said I. "Who are *they*?"

"He was silent."

"*Oh, no, no, my friend,*" said I; "it is not *they*: it is that Accursed Hill that has robbed you of the supper that you ought to find smoking on the table when you get home."

The poor man was puzzled, and a little frightened—how could the hill keep his supper from him? So Cobbett gave

him a piece of money, and he led his horse up the hillside and stood thinking of how Old Sarum was part of a worn-out system by which living men were robbed of their right to choose a government which would understand their lives and help them.

Cobbett did not even thank Old Sarum for one good service it had done the country—when it provided a seat in Parliament for young William Pitt (Chatham), whose grandfather had bought it when he came home from India with a fortune.

Cobbett, like many other reformers, believed that a Parliament chosen by the people could do much more for them than was really possible, when so many of their hardships were the result of twenty years of war and fifty years of great changes in town and village.

35. The Great Parliamentary Reform Act, 1832

§ 1. By 1824, nine years after Waterloo, most men were agreed that some reforms must come, and by this time the panic caused by the Reign of Terror in France had quite died down.

Amongst the things that needed reforming were the prisons, and the severe laws by which both men and women were flogged in the streets,* sent to Botany Bay for snaring a hare or rabbit, and hanged for stealing a sheep or breaking a machine. Now at last new criminal laws were made, which were both less severe and fairer.

At the same time the Combination Law, which had forbidden workmen to combine together to demand higher wages, or bargain in any way with employers, was repealed, and now workers were able to form trades unions (1825).

Next the Test and Corporation Acts (of Charles II.'s reign) were repealed, and this repeal gave Protestant Non-conformists the right of acting as members of Parliament

* Whipma-Whopma Gate, in York, received that name on account of floggings carried out there!

and holding offices in the State (1828). In the following year similar rights were granted to Catholics.

Still the country was not satisfied, and the demand that Parliament should be reformed grew stronger and stronger, everywhere but in the House of Commons itself! The last Parliament of George IV.'s reign refused to pass a Bill by which Manchester and Birmingham were to receive the right of sending members to Parliament.



Lord John Russell.

§ 2. Reform, however, could not be delayed much longer, and in 1831 Lord Grey and Lord John Russell brought forward a Bill proposing that members should be taken from the "rotten" and "pocket" boroughs and seats given to the big, unrepresented towns, and that the right to vote should be given not only to all holders of land, but also to those who paid a rent of £50 a year in the country, and £10 a year in the towns.

Every Bill had then—as now—to be read and passed three times in each of the Houses of Parliament; then the king gave his consent, and it became law.

Lord Grey's Reform Bill only passed its second reading in the House of Commons by one vote, and it did not pass the third reading. Lord Grey then asked the king to

dissolve Parliament, and there was a general election. All over the country large numbers of men voted for members who would support the Reform Bill, and when Lord Grey brought it before the new House of Commons it passed all three readings triumphantly. But the House of Lords voted against it, and then Lord Grey resigned the office of Prime Minister.

The king did not wish to dissolve Parliament again, so he asked the Duke of Wellington to be Prime Minister. It was known that the "Iron Duke," as he was often called, did not approve of the reform of Parliament; he thought that men of property and education were the natural rulers of the country, and that the British Constitution had worked so well in the past that it could not need any improvement.

In the country, however, there was such a clamour for reform that it overrode even the national pride in and affection for Wellington, and he was pulled from his horse and threatened in the streets, and the windows of his house were smashed. For the rest of his life the victor of Waterloo had the windows of his London house protected by iron shutters.

In Nottingham reform rioters burned the castle, on its steep rock in the middle of the town. Birmingham was placarded all over: "No taxes paid here until the Reform Bill is passed." In Bristol the Mansion House, the prison, and the bishop's palace were burned.

Charles Kingsley, then a schoolboy at Clifton, described how he watched the flames mounting in the city of Bristol until "one vast red-hot dome" seemed to roof in the scene



Lord Grey (of the Reform Bill).

of madness below, and as dark figures danced across the glare he felt that he might be looking into the Inferno described by the poet Dante.

Afterwards Kingsley saw the charred remains, some of them human, and he said it was his first lesson in social science, and he became afterwards a leader in reforms which improved housing and working conditions.

In Parliament itself there were stirring scenes, and Lord Macaulay said it was almost as exciting to be in the House of Commons then as to have been in the Senate House when Julius Cæsar was stabbed, or in Parliament when Oliver Cromwell marched in and said, "Remove that bauble" (pointing to the mace).

Very soon the Duke of Wellington had to tell the king that he could not be Prime Minister, because the House of Commons was against him. Then the king asked Lord Grey to go back as Prime Minister once more; but Lord Grey would not do this unless he could make sure that his Reform Bill would be passed by the House of Lords.

There was one way out of the difficulty. The king could make enough new lords who were of Grey's party, to outvote the old members of the House of Lords, and so pass the Bill. The country knew this, and Londoners placarded the streets with the legend: "More lords or none!"

At last the king gave way to the strong feeling in the country, and promised Grey that he would create a large number of new lords if necessary.

So Grey became Prime Minister once more, and again the Reform Bill passed its three readings in the House of Commons; but it was not necessary for the king to create new lords, because the Duke of Wellington and a number of other members of the House of Lords promised to stay away and not vote against the Bill.

§ 3. Thus in 1832 the great Reform Bill became law, and the English people won a great victory for true progress in government.

and the first really useful Factory Act. This Act forbade the employment of children under nine in mills, limited the hours for all under eighteen, and appointed the first factory inspectors to see that the new law was really carried out.

In 1835 another Act of Parliament (Municipal Corporations Act) improved the government of towns. Before this there had often been disorder and confusion in big towns, as many were ruled by small corporations or bodies of men over whom the majority had little control. Under the new Act the ratepayers in each town had to elect a town council, and the councillors became responsible for keeping order, with power to make laws about housing, drainage, road-making, cleaning and lighting of the streets, and other matters of town government.

By passing these useful Acts, the reformed Parliament of the eighteen-thirties laid the foundations of good order in the new industrial England, from which the country advanced, step by step, and with many further struggles, towards the England we know to-day.

37. Trades Unions and Other Working-Men's Movements

Trades Unions become legal, 1825

While the reformed Parliament was engaged in the task of setting the country in order, working-men were equally busy trying to improve their own position by means of trades unions, which were more active early in the eighteen-thirties than ever before.

The growth of trades unions had been checked by strict Combination Laws, passed when the Reign of Terror in France was still a fresh memory, which made English statesmen regard all working-men's movements with alarm. The Combination Law (1800) made it a crime for several workmen to combine to ask for a rise of wages, or bargain in any

way with an employer, and so no trades unions could exist openly.

Nevertheless some secret unions were formed, and because any member could betray his comrades, and so lead to their imprisonment and possibly transportation to Botany Bay, a custom arose of making all who were admitted to membership swear oaths of loyalty and secrecy. To make these oaths more impressive, the ceremony of admission was as solemn and awe-inspiring as possible. The officers were dressed in surplices, and often wore masks, and the new members were led blindfold into the secret meeting-place, where they took the oath, surrounded by grim emblems such as skeletons, drawn swords, and battle-axes.*

Meanwhile the working-men's leaders were trying in every way they could to bring about the repeal of the Combination Law. At their head was Francis Place, a London workman, who had won through a hard early life and become a prosperous tailor in Charing Cross. In the room behind Place's shop leaders of working-men's movements met founders of reform societies and Radical Members of Parliament, who were in favour of a freer, more democratic England. Francis Place laboured day and night in the cause, and after a parliamentary inquiry the Combination Law was repealed in 1825, although some restrictions remained.

Now at last the organization of trades unions could be begun in earnest and openly. Unfortunately at first, instead of making their position firm and trying to prove their usefulness, the unions broke out into a number of "strikes," for which they had not even sufficient funds. After the collapse of the first outburst of strikes, the unions were quiet and subdued for a few years, until they were stirred to activity once more by the ideas of Robert Owen.

Owen had risen from serving in a shop to be a flourishing

* For a description of such a ceremony, founded upon fact, see Disraeli's *Sybil*. Book IV., chapter iv.

mill-owner, and by 1830 he was spending his time, energy, and fortune, in trying to build up a new order of society. Owen wanted to turn England into a community of co-



Robert Owen.

operators, all working on an equality under leaders and managers of their own choice.

When the building trades all combined in one big union, and held a conference known as the Builders' Parliament, he hoped that they would take over all the building work in the country. He did not realize how much experience, self-control, and patience are needed to make even a small co-operative workshop successful, and how little working-

men knew as yet of the need or the spirit of co-operation. The word itself was unknown to many until Owen taught it to them.

Although the great building union did not hold together long, Owen succeeded in forming a Grand National Consolidated Trades Union (1834), of which most of the existing unions became members. This body helped strikes in several parts of the country, and Parliament became alarmed and sought for means of suppressing it. No one could now be prosecuted for belonging to a trade union, but an Act which forbade the taking of secret oaths was still unrepealed, and this gave Parliament a chance to strike. The blow fell upon the village of Tolpuddle, near Dorchester, where a small body of farm labourers met to form a branch of the Grand National Union, and gathered round a figure of Death, six feet high, to take a solemn oath of loyalty. Six of these Dorchester labourers were arrested, tried for taking illegal oaths, and sentenced to seven years' transportation to Botany Bay in Australia. The sentence was so severe that it made many people indignant, and even in Parliament itself the six labourers found champions. In the end they were brought home after nearly four years in Australia.

Meanwhile the employers had been fighting the unions by demanding that workmen should sign what was known as "the document," by which they pledged themselves not to belong to a trade union, and sooner or later their funds failed and they had to agree. The failure of Owen's great union was a set-back to the movement, but it became all the stronger in the end. As factories grew larger, it became more and more necessary for the men to have spokesmen who had power to act for them and whom they were pledged to obey. Employers need no longer make separate bargains with every workman, and as time went on the unions became an accepted part of industrial life in Britain.

During the twenty years after 1834 the unions improved their organization, built up their funds, and made grants of

unemployment and sickness pay to their members. This was a great help to working-men in days when there was no national insurance through which they could draw sickness pay. Although Robert Owen failed in his bigger schemes, he became the "Father of Co-operation."

His great union collapsed just when the new Poor Law was coming into force, and when working-men's disappointment with the results of the reformed Parliament was at its height. Turning from trades unions as a means of helping them in the troubles of the time, the London Working-Men's Association drew up a Charter, in which they demanded a more democratic Parliament—that is, one in which the whole people had more power. The first demand of the Charter was a vote for every man at twenty-one; for the Chartists believed that a Parliament really chosen by the people could make a new world for them. One of their leaders proclaimed: "Six months after the Charter is passed every man, woman, and child in the country will be well fed, well housed, and well clothed."



Feargus O'Connor, the
Chartist leader.

The Charter did not become law (although almost all its demands have been granted now). Yet the Chartist movement lasted for ten years. There were meetings great and small, a Chartist "Parliament," riots, and petitions to the House of Commons. One of these petitions was three miles long, and contained over a million signatures; it was rolled on huge bobbins, but it had to be unrolled to get it into

the House of Commons, and it covered the floor like a snowfall.

The Chartists made a last effort in 1848, the year of revolutions in Europe, but the monster petition they then presented was found to have many false signatures, such as Queen Victoria, the Duke of Wellington, and "Snub-Nose." After this, Chartism died out, and there was a revival of activity in the trades unions. Nevertheless the Chartists had helped to draw attention to suffering and to hardships, some of which were relieved when the repeal of the Corn Laws brought cheaper bread, and the Factory Acts improved working conditions.

38. Railways, Steamships, and Penny Post

First Railway Train, 1825 ; Penny Post, 1840

In 1837 William IV. died, and his niece, the Princess Victoria, a girl of eighteen, came to the throne. After the long reign of George III. (1760-1820), the two sons who succeeded him were elderly men, and so now it was a great change for court, ministers, and country to have a young and earnest queen.

The Princess Victoria had been carefully brought up in a quiet home life ; at Kensington Palace we can see her plain dolls and simple frocks, and imagine her on the stairs (which she was never allowed to go down without mother or governess holding her hand), starting out on the shopping expeditions on which she spent the little savings she could make out of her pocket-money. At last the day came when she was awakened with the news that her uncle, King William, was dead, and the Prime Minister was waiting to kiss her hand as queen.

Queen Victoria's long reign (1837-1901) was one of great events and progress. When she came to the throne England had very nearly won through the changes of the Industrial Revolution ; but the boom of prosperity which



Queen Victoria in 1838.

(From the portrait by Sully in the Wallace Collection.)

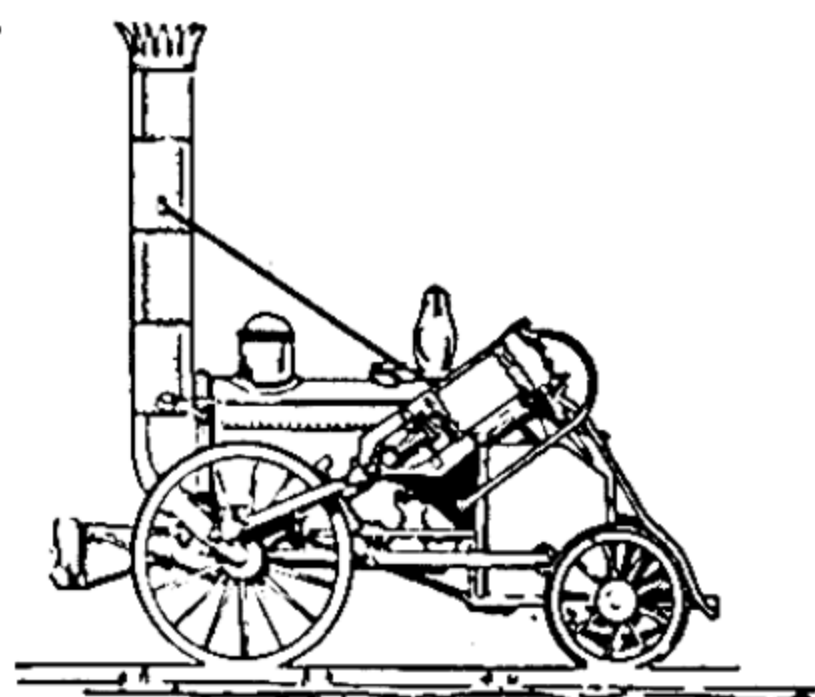
railways and steamships brought about was yet to come. There were still starving hand-loom weavers, from whom the new machines had, for a time, taken their living.

And although the reformed Parliament had made a good beginning, there was much to be done before trade, taxes, wages and hours of labour, town government, and all the other business of a great industrial nation, could be adapted to the new conditions. The first ten years of Queen Vic-

toria's reign were a time of anxiety, partly remembered as "the hungry 'Forties," and disturbed by the struggles of Chartists, the Anti-Corn Law League, and the factory reformers.

At the same time progress continued side by side with disorder. Before Victoria became queen the first railway had been opened (1825).* The story of George Stephenson, the hero of railways, is one of the finest of the nineteenth century. He was the son of a collier working near New-

castle, who had a home of only one room for his six children. George Stephenson learned mathematics in the odd times he could snatch while he was at work in an engine-room, and he became the leading engineer in the creation of railways. In 1829 his famous engine, the "Rocket" (now in the Science Museum at South Kensington), won a competition, with a speed of twenty-nine miles an hour, and it convinced the managers



Stephenson's locomotive,
the "Rocket."

of the first big railway, the Liverpool and Manchester, that the steam-engine was at last safe and reliable enough to be used regularly.

The difficulties to be overcome in making the first railways were immense. Country people distrusted the engineers who came to survey the ground, and thought that their instrument for calculating levels (the theodolite) was an invention of evil magic. The surveyors were sometimes driven off by men with pitchforks, and even guns; in one place a noted boxer had to be engaged to carry and protect the instrument; in another the vicar was so indignant about the survey that it could only be carried out while he was taking service in church!

* Stockton and Darlington Railway. The bigger Liverpool and Manchester line was opened in 1830.

An Act of Parliament was necessary to give permission for the making of each railway, and people fought against these Acts with many objections. Timid people feared that they would be thrown out or run over, and that trains would cause many riding and driving accidents by frightening horses; farmers said that sparks from the engines would set fire to hayricks, and that cows in fields near railways would give no more milk; landlords complained that the smoke would blight woods and gardens, and kill pheasants and partridges; doctors announced that the sparks would injure eyesight, the tunnels be dangerous to health, and the noise cause deafness!

When all these objections had been overruled, and a Railway Act passed, the difficulties of uneven ground, swamps, and rivers had to be overcome by engineers new to such work. Some of their feats were marvellous, such as Stephenson's railway over the treacherous ground of Chat Moss. In 1842 railways were so well established that Queen Victoria ventured to make her first train journey; the next day a leading newspaper complimented her on her courage, but hoped that she would not take such a risk again!

The first steamship tried to cross the Atlantic in 1819, but it had to use sails for part of the voyage. When this ship was seen off the Irish coast, steaming gallantly ahead, a Government boat dashed to the rescue, thinking it must be on fire! In the year 1838 four steamships crossed the Atlantic, and in 1839 the still famous Cunard Line began a regular service of steamers between England and America.

By the end of the eighteen-forties a man was no longer more of a Yorkshireman or a Cornishman than an Englishman. Early in the century a wealthy man had remarked that there was no need for a coach between Bradford and London, because he was the only Bradford man who ever went to London, and he would only travel in his own carriage. Since then all parts of England had been linked together by the "flying" mails and by the more slow and

steady stage-coaches, and many villages were roused from the quiet of centuries by the coach-horns. Now those days were gone too, with their adventures and discomforts, and the ordeals of winter journeys. (In 1811 two women,



A " Flying Coach " leaving London.

who were travelling on the outside of a coach, were found frozen to death at the journey's end.)

In the year 1840 came yet another link in the service of news and business between one part of the country and another. In that year Sir Rowland Hill's scheme for a Penny Post was put in force. Henceforth letter-writing was no longer a luxury for the rich or for important occasions only.

39. Free Trade and the Factory Acts

Repeal of Corn Laws, 1846 ; Ten Hour Day, 1847

When the war with Napoleon was over (1815), foreign countries were eager to buy the machinery, cotton goods, and other manufactures which England could then turn out better, cheaper, and faster than any other nation. Yet foreigners could not buy largely from us unless we took their corn in exchange ; and this some of them could produce better and cheaper than English farmers, because they had the advantage of better climates and vast plains of unexhausted land for corn growing.

At that time a great number of people still made their living by work on the land. And, unfortunately, England could not exchange her own manufactures for foreign corn without the danger of ruining English farming. Unless English farmers could sell their corn at a price which paid their high rents and other expenses, they could not keep up their farms.

It was now (after 1815) that England, with her growing population, first felt the difficulty of maintaining her position as a great industrial nation. Was she to allow free trade in corn, and so become rich by the sale of her manufactures, but at the same time lose the power of feeding her own people ? Or was she to "protect" farming by taxing foreign corn, so that it could not be sold cheaper than home-grown corn—which would mean dearer bread and a check to trade ? Even the great writer of *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith,* had said that defence is better than wealth ; if England became dependent on foreign corn, her defence in times of war would be weakened.

In 1815 Parliament was chiefly composed of landlords, who naturally cared more about, and understood better,

* See Chapter 20.

the troubles of farmers than those of manufacturers. So a Corn Law was passed which forbade foreign corn to be brought into England unless the price of English corn rose to a very high figure. Later this Corn Law was changed for a "sliding scale," by which the import of foreign corn varied with all the ups and downs in the price of English corn. In this way English farming was saved for a time,



Richard Cobden.

but the prosperity of trade was checked, and manufacturers were discontented. Their discontent increased when railways and steamships made it possible to expand trade both at home and overseas.

In 1838 a cotton manufacturer named Richard Cobden took up the cause of Free Trade, and a powerful Anti-Corn-Law League was formed to work for the repeal of the Corn Laws. Cobden and John Bright, another manufacturer, held meetings and distributed pamphlets in all parts of the country, and they raised funds by monster bazaars and built the Free Trade Hall in Manchester.

In a speech in Parliament Cobden drew a vivid picture

of trade between England and America. "Suppose," he said, "that it were but the Thames instead of the Atlantic which separated the two countries. Suppose that the people on one side were mechanics and artisans, capable, by their industry, of producing a vast supply of manufactures; and that the people on the other side were agriculturists, producing far more than they themselves could consume of corn, pork, and beef.

Fancy these two separate peoples, willing and anxious to exchange with each other the produce of their common industries, and fancy a demon rising from the middle of the river . . . and holding in his hand an Act of Parliament, and saying 'You shall not supply each other's wants.' " (By the Act of Parliament in the demon's hand Cobden meant the Corn Law.)

Working-men did not support Cobden, partly because they were too much occupied by Chartism, and partly because they were afraid that manufacturers only wanted cheaper bread so that they could reduce wages. But in

1845 an event happened which won over Sir Robert Peel, who was then Prime Minister, to the cause of repeal. This was a potato famine in Ireland, which meant starvation for the Irish unless they could get cheap corn. Peel had great difficulty in persuading his colleague, the Duke of Wellington, to agree with him. But in time the duke gave way, as he had done with the Reform Bill, and the Corn Laws were at last repealed (1846). Cobden remarked that, much as the nation loved and admired the Iron Duke (Wellington), he had never yet engaged in a contest with Englishmen without being defeated!



Sir Robert Peel moving the repeal of the Corn Laws, January 1846.

During the eighteen-fifties there was a period of flourishing trade, and even farmers shared in the general prosperity. Other taxes were repealed, and Free Trade suited England well at that time, when she was ahead of other nations in manufactures of all kinds. Later on English farmers grew less and less wheat. To-day it is a sad and serious fact that England can feed her own people with home-grown food for only two and a half days in every week, and agriculture is in a depressed condition.

While Cobden and his League were fighting for the repeal of the Corn Laws, another movement to improve conditions in factories was supported by the squires and landlords in Parliament. In fact, while manufacturers were crying out to landlords to help the starving cottagers, landlords were indignantly demanding that manufacturers should pity the breaking backs of their workpeople, and the children who were growing into deformity as they worked in the mills for twelve hours a day. Between them the two movements (Free Trade and Factory Laws) did much to lighten the burden of labour.

Early in the nineteenth century Robert Owen had shown in his mills at New Lanark that a model factory could succeed and "make money." When children under nine were brought to him for work, Owen sent them into his school instead of his mill. But the man who did most for the cause of the factory workers was Lord Shaftesbury. It is said that he probably "did more than any single man or any single government in English history to check the raw power of the new industrial system." *

Owing to the efforts of Shaftesbury and his supporters, first the hours of children were shortened, and then by 1847 a ten-hour day was won for all factory workers, with a half-holiday on Saturday. Shaftesbury also drew up a Bill for improving conditions in mines, and he gave Parliament a terrible picture of how women dragged the trucks of coal along the low passages, crawling on their hands and

* J. L. Hammond: *Life of Lord Shaftesbury*.

feet, with chains between their legs, and scarcely a rag of clothing, because of the heat and dirt.

Children were employed in mines too, and were often kept for hours sitting in small dark cells to open and shut the trapdoors, through which the cages swung up and down carrying the miners. One boy of seven was asked if he were afraid alone in the dark, and he said, "No, I smoke my pipe." Another, after several hours alone, was so ex-



Women mine workers.

cited to see a mouse that he forgot to attend to the trapdoor, and three miners crashed to their death. By Shaftesbury's Act of 1842 the employment of women and children in mines was forbidden.

Most good employers were pleased with these Acts—some helped to get them passed. They would have liked to make improvements before, but could not afford it unless all masters were forced to do the same, as those who spent least on their workpeople could sell their goods the cheapest. But ever since Lord Shaftesbury's time Parliament has made it one of its duties to regulate the conditions of work in factories, mines, and all other places of work.

40. The Railway Age and the Progress of Science

Faraday, Kelvin ; Pasteur, Lister

The eighteen-fifties were prosperous years. The triumph of the Railway Age brought busy activity to trade and industry, and encouraged inventors to push the newly discovered powers of science farther and farther in the service of man.

Men did not yet realize that in electricity they had discovered a force more wonderful than any magic imagined by the dreamers of fairy tales. But they were finding new uses for it year by year. By the 'fifties engineers began to realize that the tiny electric motor invented by Faraday might lead to something more than a fascinating toy. Thomson—later Lord Kelvin—began to experiment with electric telegraph cables in 1854, and in 1866 he helped to lay the first successful cable which carried messages beneath the Atlantic from England to America. Lord Kelvin also experimented with electric light. (See portrait facing page 273.)



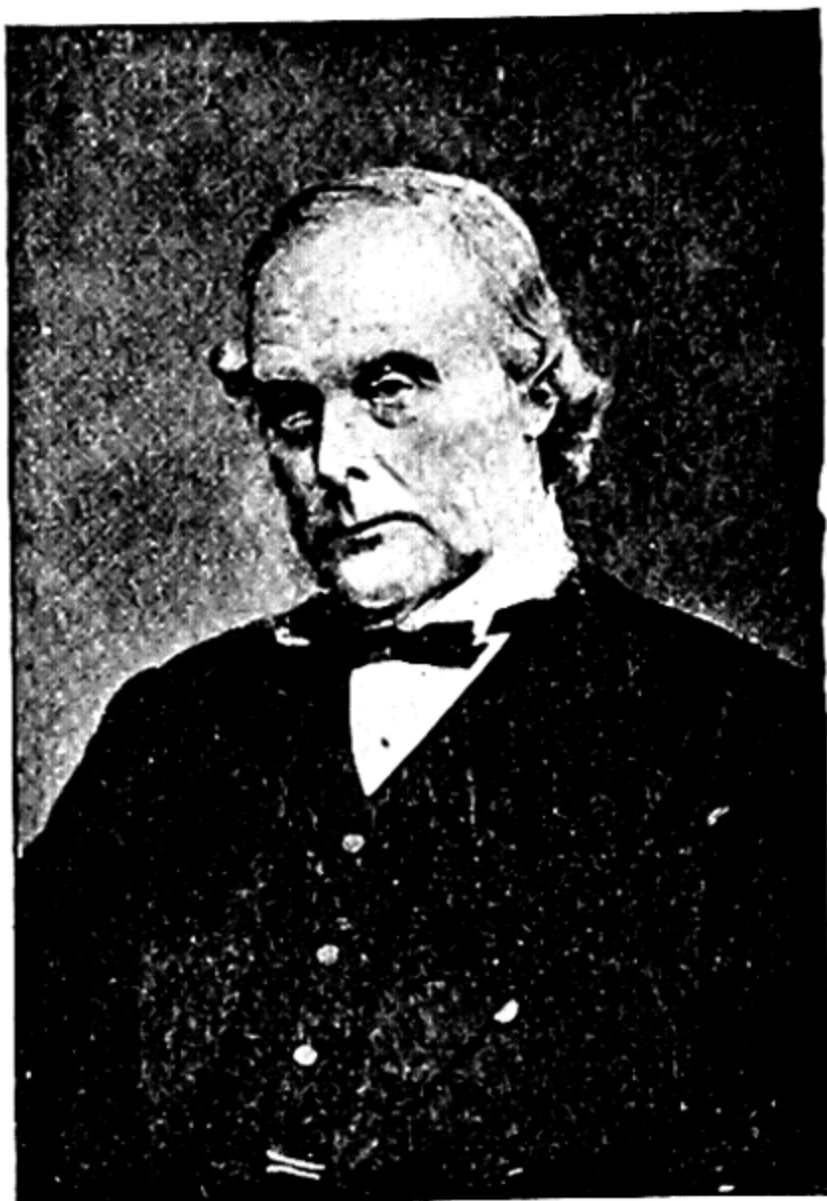
Louis Pasteur.

The new services of science were not all directed to developing industry and trade. They made the national life richer and safer by adding much knowledge about warmth, light, the nature of land and how to improve it, and the nature of the body and how to prevent and cure disease.

The French scientist Pasteur discovered that germs, or bacteria, are the means of spreading disease, and from that he went on to find out methods of destroying them. Lord Lister, in England, taught doctors and surgeons the great

lesson of keeping germs away from wounds by washing in carbolic or some other disinfectant before touching them, and covering them with disinfected wool or bandages. His work is said to have saved more lives than had been lost in all the wars of history ! These discoveries added to the safety of life ; and the use of chloroform, to make people unconscious during painful operations, was another great step forward in lifting the dread of sickness and injury which had lain so heavily on mankind.

The spirit of hopeful activity with which the 'fifties opened found expression in the Great Exhibition of 1851, arranged by Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria. At this exhibition, for the first time, European nations met to show their manufactures and treasures in the same building, and to admire and order from one another in a friendly spirit. Men were heard to say that after this nations would not be so ready to go to war ; and the war



Lord Lister.

of taxes, by which one nation tries to keep out another's manufactures, seemed to be laid aside too, as other nations were at that time inclined to follow England's example by adopting free trade.

For the Great Exhibition a marvellous palace of glass was built in Hyde Park, and it can still be seen, as it was afterwards set up again near Sydenham, and called the Crystal Palace.

During this period of prosperous development English statesmen were content to "let well alone," and they neither

carried through any sweeping changes at home nor any ambitious plans abroad. Foreign affairs were in the charge of the popular Lord Palmerston (often called "Old Pam"), who spoke for Britain and her interests abroad in a breezy and vigorous manner, which made the nation feel very sure of its rights and powers.

41. Foreign Affairs : the Crimean War and Afterwards

Crimean War (Florence Nightingale), 1854-56

§ 1. After nearly forty years of peace since Waterloo, Britain was once more drawn into a struggle in Europe.

Russia seemed determined to drive the Turks from Europe, but Britain and France united to protect them. It seems strange that Britain should have supported the Turks, who were cruel masters to the small Balkan countries. There many Christians suffered bitterly under their rule, and Russia felt herself the natural protector of her fellow-Christians in the Balkans. But Britain distrusted and feared Russia.

Russia had roused Britain's ill-will by her high-handed oppression of Poland, and by lending support to Austria in suppressing Hungary's fight for national freedom under the hero Kossuth (1848).* There was also an ever-present anxiety in India, lest Russia should ally herself with Afghanistan and plan an invasion across the North-West Frontier. Now Britain feared that, if the Turks were driven from Europe, Russia would occupy Constantinople and threaten our route to India.

France also declared war on Russia, and British and French armies invaded the peninsula known as the Crimea, on the Black Sea.

In the Crimean War (1854-56) there were shocking

* See Chapter 32.

mistakes, especially in the management of supplies—food, medicines, and clothes; but the soldiers covered themselves with glory.

After driving the Russians from the banks of the Alma, the British and French armies wasted time in a half-hearted siege of the fortress of Sebastopol. During this siege a battle was fought at Balaclava, which did not lead to great results, but will never be forgotten because of the heroism of the British soldiers.

One regiment of Highland infantry stood in a single line—"a thin red line of heroes"—to receive the charge of a mass of Russian cavalry; when the horses were almost upon them they discharged their rifles in a deadly volley which broke the Russian attack.

In this battle, too, occurred the famous charges of the Light Brigade* and the Heavy Brigade. Through a mistake the Light Brigade, of less than seven hundred men, were ordered to capture the guns in the very centre of the Russian army. Without a moment's hesitation they charged down a long "valley of death," lined by Russian artillery, and reached the guns; but the total loss in killed and wounded was nearly two hundred and fifty.

Another stand was made at Inkerman, and then winter shrouded the Crimea in deep snow, which brought the



Statue to Florence Nightingale ("The Lady of the Lamp").

* See Tennyson's poem.

soldiers far more suffering than any active campaign. Lacking suitable clothes and food, partly in consequence of a hurricane which destroyed several supply ships in harbour, many died from cold and neglect.

At last Britain was roused to their suffering and her disgrace. Palmerston became Prime Minister, and vigorous measures were taken to remedy the blunders.

The next autumn Sebastopol was taken at last, and peace was signed in the spring of 1856.

§ 2. The heroism of the men was matched by the courage and strength of Florence Nightingale, who went out to the Crimea at the blackest time with medical supplies, and took charge of the chief hospital. Up to this time there were no regularly trained women nurses in England, and Florence Nightingale had fought a hard struggle with her family before



Benjamin Disraeli.
(From an early portrait.)

she was allowed to train in a hospital kept by nuns abroad.

As the little band of Englishwomen landed, one said how she longed to begin nursing the "poor, dear fellows," but Florence Nightingale, who was made of sterner stuff, replied: "The strongest of you will be needed at the wash-tub."

They found the hospital short of medicines, bandages, and chloroform; there were not even night-shirts in which to clothe the sick and wounded, or forks for them to eat with. Soon, under Florence Nightingale's vigorous rule, the hospital was clean, orderly, and better supplied, and as she

made the round of the wards at night, carrying a light, the men lovingly named her the "Lady of the Lamp."

Florence Nightingale was only at the beginning of her work, which brought about a trained nursing service, and the first school for nurses in London.

A few years later (1869) Britain and Russia came to an agreement by which both promised to respect the independence of Afghanistan.

Turkey's position in Europe was settled for a time, but in 1876 all the Christian nations were shocked by a terrible massacre which the Turks carried out in Bulgaria, and Russia once more took up arms to defend the Balkan countries.

To avert war, Bismarck arranged a conference of European nations at Berlin, and as a result the independence of Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro was proclaimed.

Nevertheless Turkey was not swept altogether out of the Balkans, chiefly because Disraeli protested that Britain should not allow too much to be taken from the Turks. Gladstone demanded that they should be driven from Europe "bag and baggage." But Disraeli was Prime Minister, and the people supported him. Thus there was still unrest in the Balkans—an unrest which these warlike peoples kept up into the twentieth century, and which was one of the immediate causes of the Great War.

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

42. The Making of the Modern Citizen : Gladstone and Disraeli

Elementary Education Act, 1870 ; Irish Land Acts, 1870, etc.

§ 1. Towards the close of the eighteen-sixties another period of reforms began. Many useful Acts of Parliament gave new rights and protection to citizens, and Britain became at last a real democracy, because all classes of men voted for members of Parliament.

The making of the new democracy was chiefly the work of two statesmen whose names are very famous in English history—Gladstone and Disraeli.

Gladstone was a man of fine earnestness, who set out to convince Parliament and the country of what he thought to be right and just, as if he were starting upon a high crusade. At the same time he was a sound and practical man of business, and first made his name by his care of the country's finance.

When he was possessed by earnestness for a cause he forgot everything else, and he would explain such a cause to Queen Victoria with the same eloquence as he would use in the House of Commons. Once the queen complained wearily that Mr. Gladstone talked to her as if she were a public meeting !

Disraeli, on the contrary, could be both eloquent and

tactful; he never lost his hold on what other people were doing and thinking, and planned his own speeches accordingly. Yet Disraeli had his own visions of a new England—an England which should play a big part in Europe, and at home be guided by an aristocracy newly awakened to their



W. E. Gladstone in 1869.

duties to a people who had learned to trust them, and follow their lead. Later on Disraeli built up in his mind another vision of England as the head and heart of a great empire on which the sun never set.

Between Gladstone's high purposes and Disraeli's visions England began to travel fast along the road of democracy and empire.

The first step was another Reform Bill. The Bill of 1832 * had given votes only to the middle classes. Now there was a demand that working-men in the cities and towns should have a voice in the government of the country. Gladstone first brought in a Bill. But it did not please the House of Commons, and it was Disraeli, in the end, who took what his party called "the leap in the dark" by passing the Reform Bill of 1867, which gave the vote to all town householders—that is, practically to all artisans. To him it was a first step in winning the trust of working-men for the Conservative party.

After the Bill of 1867 Gladstone was once more Prime Minister, at the head of a vigorous Liberal Government, and a great number of useful Acts were passed.

Chief among them was Forster's Education Act (1870), which provided that in every town or village where there was no school, a School Board might be elected to build one, and raise a rate towards the cost. Ten years later people were obliged by law to send their children to school, for it was said that, having given votes to working-men, the country must "educate her masters" !

To enable the new electors to vote freely, Gladstone passed a Ballot Act (1872), which made voting secret, the voting-papers being placed in a closed box. (This was one of the reforms the Chartists had demanded.)

In the same spirit Gladstone abolished the law which kept Roman Catholics and Nonconformists out of posts at the universities. He also caused Civil Servants to be chosen by examination, and commissions and promotions in the army to be awarded for good character and service, instead of being bought and sold. Hitherto the Civil Service and the rank of officer in the army had been open only to men of rich or influential families.

§ 2. Beyond these reforms there was one great problem which troubled Gladstone very much, and that was how to relieve the wretched state of Ireland.

* See Chapter 35.

After the potato famine of 1845 many Irish people had emigrated, especially to America. Those who remained suffered much from the land laws, which allowed landlords to turn tenants out of farms and cottages at the shortest notice ; and although Irish landlords drew high rents, they were not bound, as in England, to keep buildings in repair and help to improve the land.

Gladstone passed several Irish Land Acts, in the midst of plots and disturbances which were stirred up by Irishmen from America. The Acts of 1870 and 1881 won fair rents for Irish tenants, and prevented landlords from turning out men who paid their rent regularly.

Gladstone had already relieved another Irish grievance by taking from the Protestant Church in Ireland (to which very few of the Irish people belonged) its favoured position as State Church.

Later on Gladstone wished to go farther still and give Ireland self-government. However, the English Parliament was against Home Rule for Ireland, and so his Bills failed to pass.

Gladstone's first Government had passed so many important Acts that Disraeli said its members were like a "range of exhausted volcanoes"! Disraeli's own turn came in 1874, when he was Prime Minister for the second time. In the same year the first two Labour members (both miners) took their seats in Parliament ; they voted with the Liberal party.

§ 3. The modern citizen owes much to Disraeli. His Government now passed a useful Public Health Act, which led to improvements in the care of towns and the health of working-men and their families. His Artisans' Dwellings Act enabled town councils to buy and pull down slums, and regulate the building of new houses.

Disraeli also regulated factories and gave trades unions their full freedom. Although any one could belong to a union, there was till now a Conspiracy Act still in force, under which men could be arrested for almost everything



Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.

they were likely to do in a strike, including asking another man whether he would leave work. In addition, workmen

could be imprisoned for breaking an agreement with an employer, but the employer was not imprisoned if he broke it.

By his Employers' and Workmen's Act (1875), Disraeli made one law for employer and workman—neither was to be imprisoned for breaking an agreement, and henceforth no group of persons were to be arrested for anything that would not be criminal if one man did it.

Disraeli had been one of the few members in the House of Commons who pleaded for at least a kindly hearing of the Chartists' grievances when their first great petition was brought to Parliament. He had said then: "I am not ashamed to sympathize with over a million of my fellow-subjects." As Prime Minister in the eighteen-seventies, he showed that he could do so in a practical way.

In 1881 Disraeli, now Earl of Beaconsfield, died. Later on the Conservative "Primrose League" was founded in his memory. The primrose was a favourite flower of his, and the queen used to send him early ones from her home in the Isle of Wight.

Gladstone was Prime Minister again in the 'eighties, and completed the new democracy by passing a third Reform Bill (1884), by which country labourers received the vote. This was followed by an Act setting up County Councils (1888), through which the new electors took their part in governing the country districts.

Gladstone's last efforts were for Irish Home Rule. But they were fruitless—although the business of the House of Commons was almost stopped by the Irish members, led by Parnell, who got up and spoke, one after another, until there was no time for the proper discussion and passing of any Bill!

Gladstone refused a title, and in his last years he was known throughout the nation as the Grand Old Man.

43. The Story of South Africa : I. The Boers and the British

Slaves freed, 1833 ; Great Trek, 1836 ; Boer War, 1880

§ 1. The first white men known to have landed at the Cape of Good Hope were Portuguese seafarers, in search of a route to the East. Vasco da Gama was the first to round the Cape on the way to India, and in 1580 Drake sighted it when he was homeward bound from his voyage round the world. Drake reported that, although the early Portuguese discoverers had called it the Cape of Storms, he thought it " a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we have seen in the whole circumference of the earth."

The coasts of South Africa still bear a number of Portuguese, Dutch, and English names, but it was the Dutch East India Company who first took possession of the Cape and made it a port of call for their eastward-bound ships. Some Dutch sailors were wrecked in Table Bay, and they discovered how fine the climate was for raising crops. So Holland decided to found a small colony there, to cultivate foodstuffs, particularly green vegetables, for Dutch ships on their way to and from India.

The colonists who went out from Holland in our Cromwell's time (1652) were men like the Pilgrim Fathers, who founded British colonies in America some thirty years earlier. They were earnest, industrious, simple people, whose lives were filled by work, Bible-reading, and psalm-singing. In later years, when they had scattered to lonely farms, many of these Boers (Dutch word for " farmers ") would set out two or three times a year on journeys of a week or ten days' length to attend the nearest church.

In time the Boers were joined by a party of Huguenots (French Protestants), who fled in Louis XIV.'s time from persecution for their religion in France ; and so many South Africans, amongst them the family of General Botha, have French blood in their veins.

The Dutch were undisturbed in South Africa until the war with Napoleon, which reached even to Cape Colony. Holland allied herself with France, and England began to fear that the Cape might be held by the French to threaten our route to India. So an English fleet took possession of the colony in 1795.

At the end of the war England gave back many Dutch possessions she had taken, but she arranged to keep Cape Colony, and paid the Dutch six million pounds for it.

§ 2. The first British colonists to settle in South Africa were a number of families chosen from amongst those who had suffered hardships during the long French war, and who were eager to start life again in a new country. They landed in 1820, and founded Grahamstown, round which many of them settled down to farm.

Jealousy and other troubles arose at once between Boers and British, and both had to be constantly on their guard against the native tribes of Kaffirs.

The Boers had been cut off from the progress of ideas in Europe, and they treated the natives who were within their power as slaves, with no rights at all, and were contemptuous and angry when called upon to appear before British magistrates to answer for ill-treatment of black men. Their discontent about this grew worse when the British Government abolished slavery throughout the empire in 1833.

England had raised twenty million pounds to pay to owners who had to set their slaves free, but the Boers did not get enough compensation to satisfy them.

Shortly after the freeing of the slaves, Boers and British were drawn together to quell a rising of Kaffirs, and they fixed a new boundary beyond which the Kaffirs must not advance. But British men, amongst them missionaries, who wished to befriend the Kaffirs, reported to England that they had not been fairly treated, and our Government refused to allow the new boundary to be maintained.

The Boers, disgusted and resentful, determined to push

on farther into Africa and found independent colonies for themselves. With this object they began the famous journey known as the Great Trek (1836).

Long lines of covered wagons, packed with women, children, and furniture, and drawn by oxen, rolled north over the plains day after day, and flocks and herds were driven beside them. At night the tired oxen were taken out of the shafts, and the wagons drawn up in a circle, and inside this enclosure the Boer families camped, always on the watch for hostile natives.

Some of these camps were overwhelmed by the Kaffirs; sometimes a whole drove of cattle died from the bites of tsetse flies. Yet still the Boers streamed north, and amongst them was Paul Kruger, the future President of a Boer republic, then a boy of ten.

Soon they came to the country inhabited by the Zulus, a warlike race, even more to be feared than the Kaffirs. A Zulu chief, named Dingaan, treacherously mur-

dered a party of Boers to whom he had been friendly in Natal. Their deaths were avenged by a victory over the Zulus at Blood River, and this day has been commemorated by the Boers ever since as Dingaan's Day.

The Boers succeeded in making independent colonies, and two of them were recognized by the British as the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. At the same time the first Cape Parliament was elected for the British colonies in South Africa (1854).



Ox wagon crossing a river.

§ 3. In 1867 a discovery was made which brought more

British settlers to South Africa. A farmer's children brought home some sparkling stones they had picked up by a river bank, and others were found sticking in the mud walls of a house! They proved to be diamonds, and before long two big diamond mines were opened—the Kimberley and the De Beers.

At once a modern, commercial population began to invade the diamond district—very different people from the old-fashioned, Bible-reading Boers.

Still the warlike Zulus threatened the peace of the country, and the Boer Government was not strong or orderly enough to satisfy the other settlers. So in 1877 the South African Republic was declared to be at an end, its name was changed to the Transvaal, and it was brought under British rule.

Soon after this a Zulu war broke out. It is memorable chiefly for the heroic stand which a hundred British soldiers made against three thousand Zulus at Rorke's Drift. The Zulus had already surrounded and massacred one detachment of British troops, but two horsemen escaped and carried a warning to the little band in charge of a hospital and stores in a lonely spot at Rorke's Drift. The British soldiers had just time to make hasty barricades of wagons, bags of grain, biscuit boxes, and packing-cases before the swarm of Zulus was upon them. Soon their hospital was in flames, but they saved the sick, and fought with such grim determination that at nightfall the Zulus gave up the attack.

The Zulus were finally defeated, and some years later Zululand was brought under British rule.

The Boers continued full of discontent, and at last, in 1880, on the anniversary of Dingaan's Day, they opened war against the British. They were such good horsemen, and so clever at skirmishing and taking advantage of the ground, that soldiers trained in England were at a loss in fighting them. After a Boer victory at Majuba Hill, England once more recognized the Transvaal as a republic, with Paul Kruger as President.

In 1886 there came the discovery of gold in the Trans-



Paul Kruger.

vaal, and the republic of Boer farmers was invaded by a crowd of eager gold-seekers. The big, modern town of

Johannesburg grew up in the centre of the gold-mining district, and the Boers looked with angry disgust at its up-to-date machinery, shops, electric light, theatres, and gaieties. They called the new settlers, with whom they had nothing in common, Outlanders, and they refused to allow them votes or any share in the government of the Transvaal, although they taxed them heavily.

In this way ill-feeling was aroused on both sides, which led, in 1899, to a second Boer War.

44. The Story of South Africa: II. Livingstone and Africa; Rhodes; War and Union

Livingstone, 1840, etc.; Rhodes, died 1902; Second Boer War, ended 1902; Union of South Africa, 1909.

§ 1. At a time when neither the Boers nor the British had ventured much farther north than the Orange River, one of the world's greatest explorers was pushing ahead of them into the heart of the unknown "dark continent."

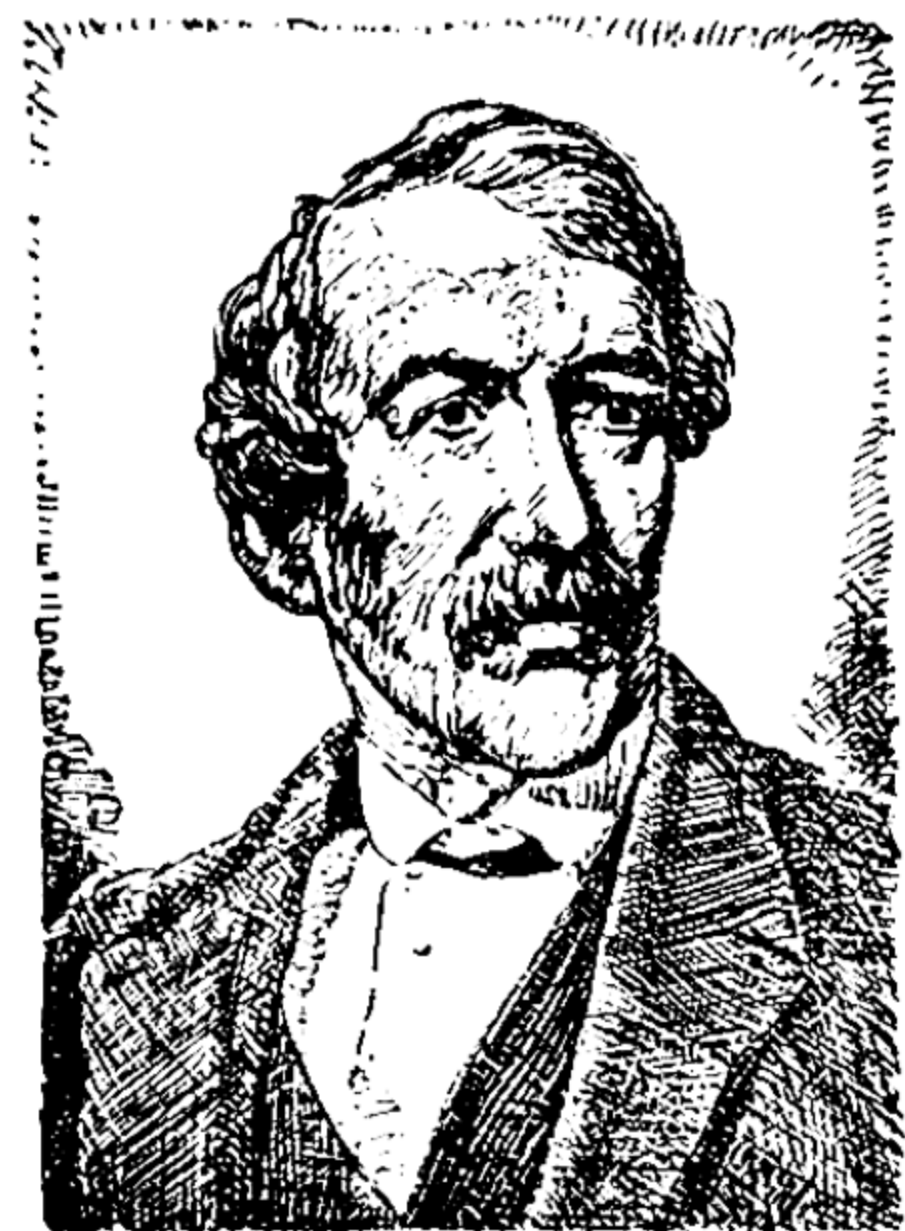
This was David Livingstone, who had started his working life in a Scottish cotton-mill at the age of ten. He formed an ambition to become a Christian missionary, and tried to prepare himself by learning Latin and studying other subjects after his long day's work. In 1840 Livingstone won the desire of his heart, and sailed for Africa.

The fascination of the "dark continent" led Livingstone on, farther and farther north, travelling without any weapons, teaching Christianity as he passed on his way, and sometimes leaving behind him schools built with his own hands. In 1851 he reached the great river Zambezi, before then only known at its mouth, and traced its course across Africa, discovering the wonderful waterfalls, even greater than Niagara, which he called Victoria Falls, after the queen. A few years later he discovered Lake Nyasa.

Eventually Livingstone was almost lost in the heart

of Africa. The explorer Stanley found him near Lake Tanganyika. But Livingstone was not ready to return, and later he died, alone with his black servants, in a country which no white man had trodden before.

Livingstone's wonderful journeys quickened the imagination of men of business enterprise whom the diamond and gold mines had brought out to South Africa, although the home Government would not allow them to carry forward the British flag and establish it over the newly discovered Zambezi land.



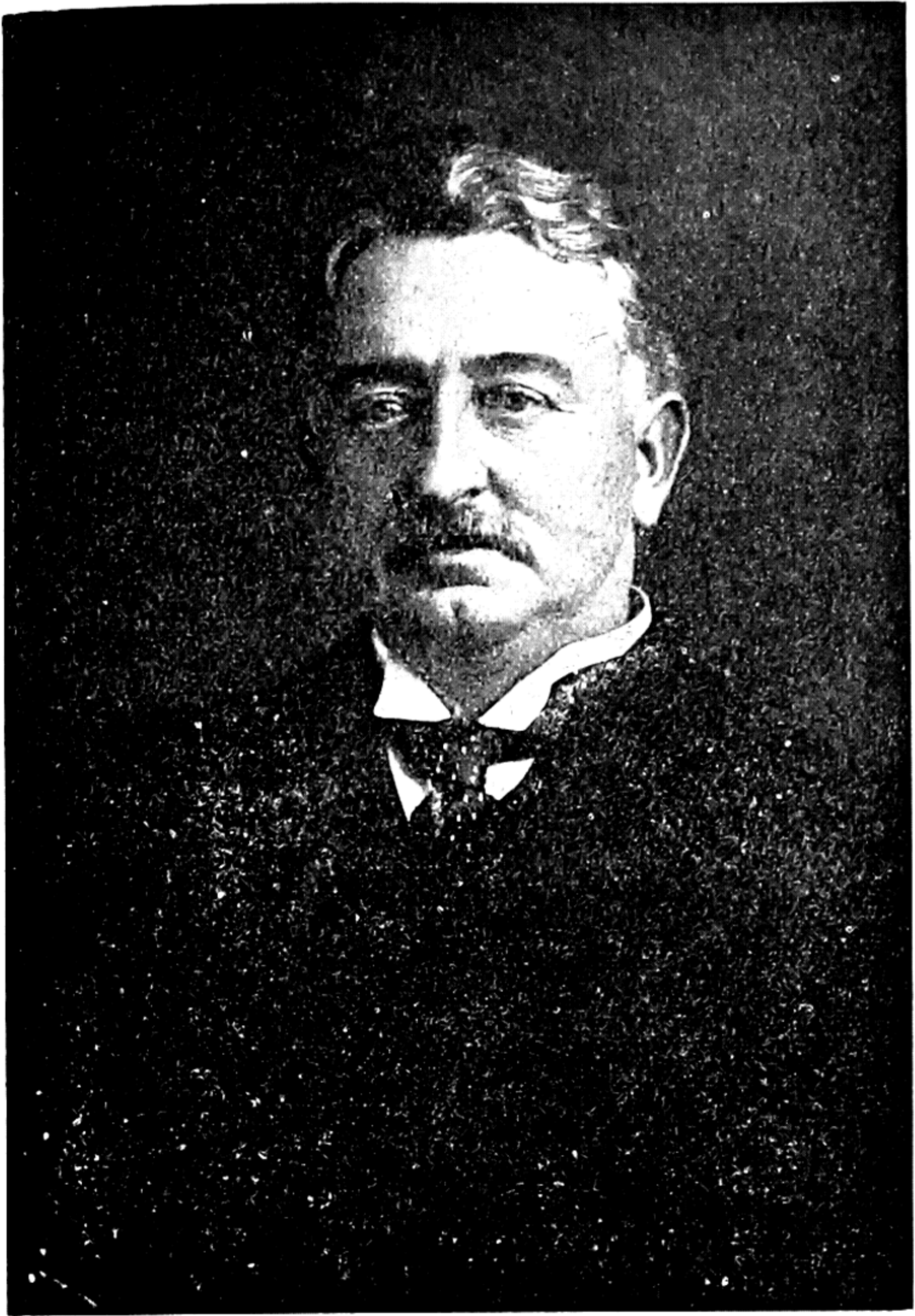
David Livingstone.

Foremost among these business pioneers was Cecil Rhodes, the son of an English clergyman, who had first been sent to South Africa for his health. He became head of the company which controlled the chief diamond mines in South Africa, and also a leading owner of gold mines, and founded the British South Africa Company to develop the country.

When Rhodes became a man of great wealth, and was also Prime Minister of Cape

Colony, he began to plan a wonderful future for Englishmen in South Africa, and a greater and united South Africa as part of the British Empire. Some day he hoped that this empire would stretch from the Cape to Cairo (Egypt). "That is my dream," he said, pointing to a map of Africa—"all British."

Rhodes achieved the first steps in the fulfilment of his dream. Under his influence the Zambezi country was brought under British rule as the new colony of Rhodesia, and before he died (in 1902) he saw the Cape-to-Cairo



Cecil Rhodes.

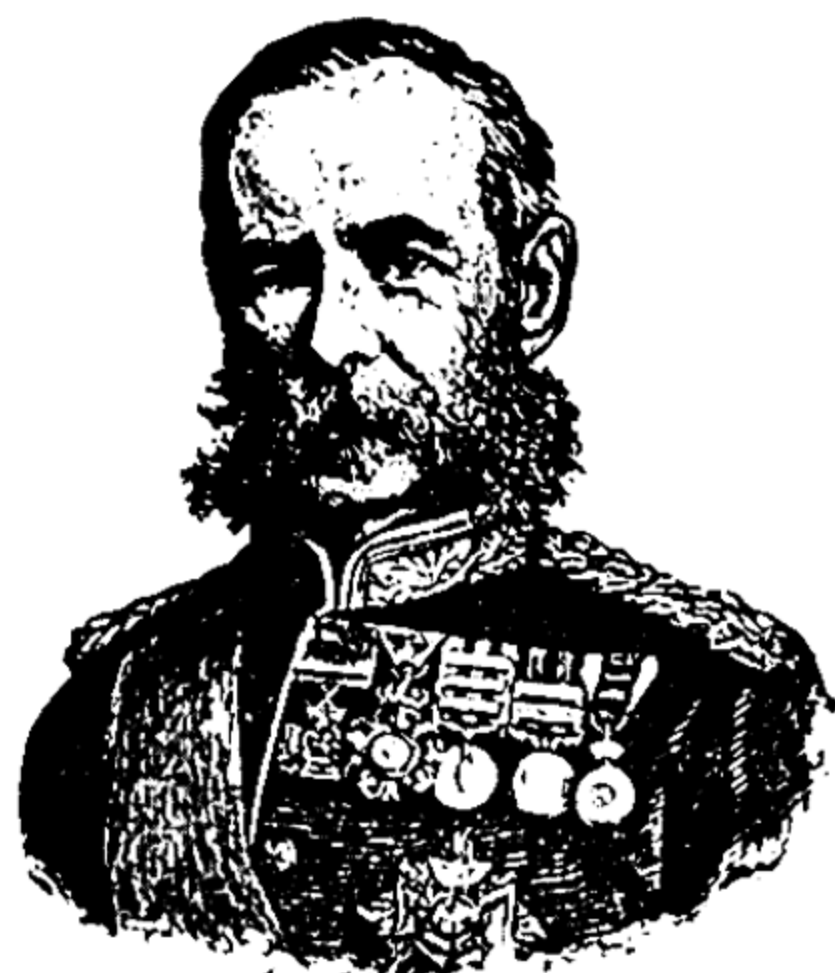
railway which he had worked for well on the way to completion.

When Cecil Rhodes died, he left six millions to found

scholarships, and "Rhodes Scholars" from all the English-speaking countries now meet at Oxford University.

Rhodes is buried on a hill in Matabeleland, and, according to his wish, Rhodesia keeps the top of this hill sacred as a burial-place for "those who deserve well of their country."

Before the united South Africa of which Rhodes dreamed could be realized the trouble between Boers and British came to a head in the South African War of 1899-1902.



Sir Frederick (Lord) Roberts
in 1880.

At first England underrated the strength of the Boers and their skill in suiting their methods of fighting to the South African "veld," a sandy plain, overgrown with bushes and broken by low hills. The scarlet uniforms of the British regiments showed up for long distances on the veld, whereas the Boer horsemen could come and go almost before the British soldiers had realized that they were upon them.

The Boers besieged the three towns of Kimberley, Ladysmith, and Mafeking, and in one week the British forces met with three serious defeats.

Then England put her full strength into the war, and volunteers from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada joined the British in South Africa. The scarlet uniforms were given up, and the khaki, which our soldiers still wear, was chosen instead, because it did not show up on the sandy veld. Lord Roberts, who had won fame in India, was sent out to command the British troops. The besieged towns were relieved, and Roberts marched into Johannesburg and Pretoria, and took over the Orange Free State as part of the British Empire. Kruger, the Boer President and leader, had to escape to Europe.

Lord Kitchener completed the war, and annexed the Transvaal.

§ 2. A few years after the war the way seemed clear for a better understanding. The Boers and their farms were



Louis Botha.

ruined, but the British Government advanced money to them for rebuilding, and for buying cattle and other fresh stock.

In 1906 the British Government courageously restored the right of self-government to the Boer colonies, and General Botha, who had been one of the Boer generals

during the war, said : " We have taken the hand of friendship, and shall not let it go." Botha was the first Prime Minister of the Transvaal after it had become a self-governing colony within the British Empire.

In 1909 the British and Boer colonies all agreed to join and form a great Union of South Africa, and before many years Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State, and the Transvaal were acting more and more together under the name of the Union.

There still remain far more coloured than white men south of the Zambezi. Zululand is joined with Natal in the Union, and the Kaffirs live in Bechuana-land and Basutoland under the protection of the British, and subject to the British Governor.



Mungo Park.

In 1914 to 1918 South Africa bore a fine part in the Great War. General Botha and General Smuts took German South-West Africa, afterwards " mandated " to the British Empire (see p. 306), and South African troops fought beside the British in France, and are commemorated by a monument near Delville Wood, where many fell.

In 1927 South Africa was disturbed by the question whether the Union should give up the British " Union Jack " in favour of its own flag. The problem of combining national feeling with empire loyalty was solved by the decision that on all important occasions the two flags should be flown side by side.

§ 3. In West Africa England had made colonies in the seventeenth century. Gambia and the Gold Coast were the headquarters of British slave-traders. After the American War of Independence a colony was planted by

England in Sierra Leone, for freed slaves from America who had fought on the British side under masters who remained loyal to George III. The vast land of Nigeria was explored by Mungo Park, whose adventures and death make a great story.

The climate of West Africa is not good for white men, but in East Africa, which is healthy and suitable for development, there are now flourishing British communities. The latest colony in British East Africa is Kenya, which seems to have a promising future, although the problem of combining the interests of British settlers and traders with what is best for the natives is not yet a thing of the past.

In 1928 a Commission was sent to East Africa to consider whether Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika should join in a federation.

45. The Story of India : I. Clive and Hastings to Dalhousie and Roberts

§ 1. Clive had left the British in control of the large province of Bengal, and Warren Hastings both extended and strengthened British rule ; but there were still vast areas independent of Britain. The Governors-General were not sent out from England to build up an Indian Empire, but to preserve order in the British provinces, so that the East India Company could carry on its trade in safety. As yet, no Europeans were allowed to settle in India unless they held posts under the Company.

The first governors found that India was seething with native wars, and that many of the Indian princes were jealous of each other and of the British. In the south, the powerful Tippoo Sultan (the " Tiger of Mysore ") was a restive neighbour, and the Nawab of the Carnatic was planning treachery ; in Central India the fierce Mahrattas swept all before them, maintained a state of terror amongst surrounding states, and were ready to fight for any ruler who would pay most highly for their services.

In the last years of the eighteenth century these dangers were at their height, because Napoleon's army was in Egypt, and all the discontented native rulers in India looked to the French for help. The French Republicans were on particularly friendly terms with "Citizen" Tippoo.

Nelson's victory at the battle of the Nile (1798) dashed native hopes of a French army landing in India, and then the Governor-General of the time, Lord Wellesley, began to triumph over the troubles which menaced the British.

First Tippoo Sultan was conquered, his capital besieged and stormed, and Mysore added to the British provinces. Next the treachery of the ruler of the Carnatic was exposed, and his territory also taken over. The Mah-rattas, whose threatening violence still kept all northern India in a state of unrest and fear, were brought into subjection by a fine campaign and a brilliant victory at Assaye (1803).

The hero of these military campaigns was Lord Wellesley's younger brother, Major-



Tippoo Sultan of Mysore.

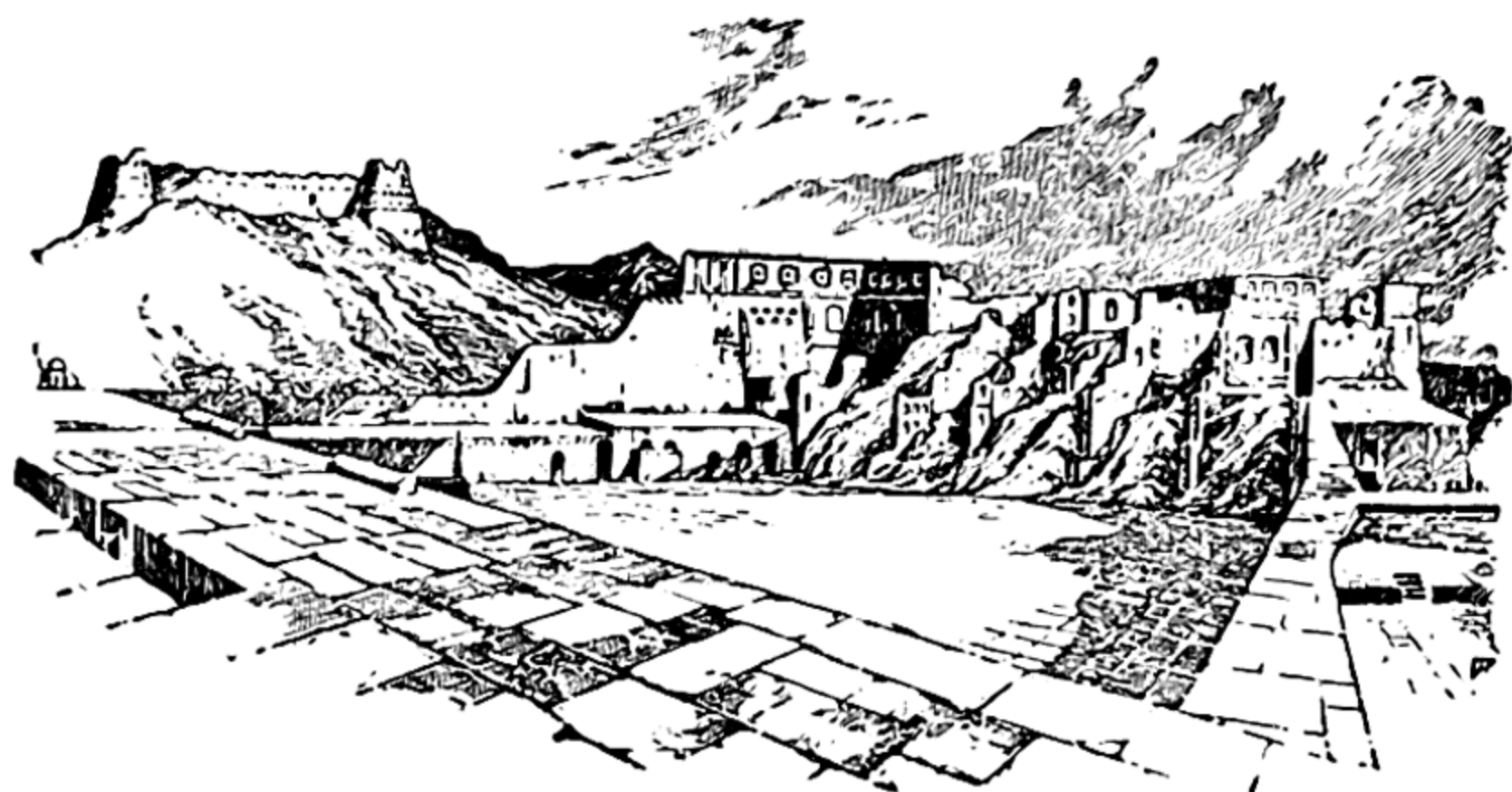
(From an Oriental painting at Apsley House.)

General Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, who conquered Napoleon.

§ 2. The governors who followed Wellesley were instructed to leave the native princes to settle their own quarrels, and think more of extending British trade than British rule. But each governor in turn found it impossible to stand aside and see the disorder and bloodshed of Central India continually threatening the peace of every province.

The Mahrattas had to be quelled once more, and the Ghurkas were also reduced to submission and order ; and then the chief anxiety shifted to the North-West Frontier, where the Punjab was not always friendly and the fierce tribes of Afghanistan were a constant menace.

In Afghanistan the British suffered tragically for a high-handed attempt to replace the ruler, Dost Mohammed, by a chief more friendly to themselves. The Afghans rose, and eventually Dost Mohammed was restored, but a British garrison was driven out of the Afghan capital, Kabul, and



The British Residency, Kabul, after the rising of 1879.

died in the long struggle down the mountain pass under Afghan fire. Only one man rode through to tell the story ; but the women and children were brought safely back to British territory by Dost Mohammed's son.

After this disaster the British marched to Kabul once more and set up their flag, but nevertheless Dost Mohammed was left in power.

The period of reforms at home in England was accompanied by reforms in India. In 1835 Government grants were made to schools (only two years later than in England) ; and by degrees some cruel Indian customs were suppressed, such as *suttee*, the custom which bound a Hindu widow to

throw herself into the flames in which her husband's body was burning.

Lord Dalhousie caused roads and railways to be made, telegraph lines to be set up, schools and hospitals to be built. He also encouraged the cultivation of cotton, silk, and tea, for which the new canals to water the dry country were a great help.

Under Lord Dalhousie the Punjab was brought under British rule, and the two brothers named Lawrence won the trust of its Sikh people by their just government.

Now British India began to realize its unity, and the natives to enjoy a peace which they had not known in the old divided and warring India.

Yet there was still constant anxiety on the North-West Frontier, where Afghanistan was a dangerous neighbour.

§ 3. Lord Roberts, one of England's great soldiers, who did fine work in both India and South Africa, wrote an account of life in the frontier station of Peshawar, as it was when he went there as a young lieutenant in 1852.

Like other frontier stations, Peshawar was planned to occupy as little space as possible, because it had to be continuously guarded by a close ring of sentries all round it. Crowded closely inside the enclosure were British and native troops, and some of the officers' families; the water-supply was bad, and English soldiers dreaded the place for its heat and unhealthiness. Outside the town strong guards were posted on the roads leading into the surrounding hills, where robber bands of natives kept watch, ready to swoop down on any chance of plunder.

In addition to the military guards, each householder engaged a watchman belonging to one of the robber tribes to guard his house; if any one neglected to do this, his horses and other goods were sure to be carried off. These watchmen were armed with old-fashioned firearms, which they discharged wildly on any kind of alarm, so that their random fire made the streets dangerous after dark.

Roberts wrote that "No one was allowed to venture

beyond the line of sentries when the sun had set, and even in broad daylight it was not safe to go any distance from the station."

Just before he arrived a lady had ventured to ride outside Peshawar with an officer, and not far from the town they were attacked by hillmen. The officer was badly wounded, and the hillmen galloped off with the horses, allowing the lady to run down the road to summon help. Afterwards the hillmen were so afraid of her recognizing them if they should be captured and tried, that they made an attempt to kidnap her, and she had to be closely guarded as long as she stayed in Peshawar.

In this way British garrisons kept anxious watch on the mountain passes which led to Afghanistan. Every successful piece of daring by the hillmen shook the native faith in the might of the white man, already weakened by the tragedy of the retreat from Kabul.

46. The Story of India : II. Mutiny and Modern India

*Indian Mutiny—and East India Company—ended 1858 ;
India Councils Act, 1909*

§ 1. The reforms of Lord Dalhousie caused the spread of discontent and unrest in northern India, especially amongst the sepoy or native troops under British command. They resented an attempt to send them "across the black water" for a campaign in Burma. They distrusted railways and telegraphs, and all the modern inventions which were changing their land so much. And they feared that the British wanted to destroy their religion and the strict rules of "caste" under which they lived.

While the sepoys were in this state of mind, some new rifles were sent out to India, for which greased cartridges were used, and the men had to bite the ends off these before loading. A report spread that the cartridges were greased with the fat of cows and pigs, and immediately the native

troops seethed with indignation, for to the Hindu the cow is sacred, and to the Mohammedan the pig is unclean. No efforts or promises could calm them. Native leaders who wished to stir up a revolt made the most of the report, and a terrible mutiny followed.

It was in 1857, a hundred years after the Black Hole of Calcutta and the victory of Plassey,* that the sepoys rose in Meerut.

They chose a Sunday evening, because the British troops used to pile their rifles outside the church while they went in to service; but fortunately that day the service had been fixed half an hour later, and so the soldiers were not caught defenceless. Nevertheless it was impossible to check the swarming horde of natives in their wild rush to the British quarters, to murder and to burn. A few white families were saved by the devotion of native servants, and a few officers by sepoys who had served under their command, but soon Meerut was left a city of the dead, and the wild tide of mutineers swept on to Delhi.

Here the last of the Grand Moguls was proclaimed emperor, and the flame of revolt spread rapidly to other cities. Mercifully the Sikhs and the Ghurkas remained loyal, and fought staunchly beside the British; otherwise the whole white population might have been massacred, as there were at least seven times as many native soldiers in India as British.

The heroism of the recapture of Delhi, the tragedy of Cawnpore, and the long defence of Lucknow will never be forgotten.

A British force clung desperately to a ridge outside Delhi through week after week of scorching heat, surrounded by hordes of natives, who scarcely gave them even a few hours' rest from fighting. A little band of engineers sacrificed their lives to blow up the Kashmir gate, and as the British soldiers at last entered the city their gallant leader, John Nicholson, fell at their head.

* There was a saying in India that British rule would come to an end a hundred years after Plassey.

In Cawnpore a band of 400 residents and 300 soldiers tried to defend themselves in a ramshackle building, and every day they had to crawl out to fetch water under the mutineers' fire. At last, in their desperate straits (they were living on a handful of flour and a handful of split peas a day for each person), they surrendered to Nana Sahib, who promised them a safe conduct. As they were embarking in the boats which were to take them down the river to safety, the natives opened fire and shot all the men. The women and children were killed later, and their bodies hidden in a well—the well of Cawnpore. Here they were found by the relieving force under Havelock, which immediately pushed on in hot rage to save the defenders of Lucknow from a like fate.

At Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence was in command, and he had fortified the British Residency (the governor's house) and prepared stores for a siege. Early in the siege this fine commander was killed by a shell bursting in the room where he was holding a council ; he asked that, if any words were to mark his grave, they should be : “ Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty.”

For weary weeks the gallant defenders of Lucknow, men and women, held their position, and the Union Jack still floated from the Residency, although it was riddled with shot, and more than once a new staff had to be set up for it.

At last a relieving force under Havelock and Outram fought their way into the city, bringing fresh hope and strength, and fresh supplies. Yet they could not bring the worn-out defenders away from the Residency, because they were so vastly outnumbered by the mutineers, who still held the outskirts of the city in great force.

After Delhi had been taken, Sir Colin Campbell, the commander-in-chief, led the strongest army he could muster to Lucknow. With this force went Lieutenant Roberts, who had come safely through the weeks of fighting at Delhi.

Lieutenant Roberts has described the eagerness of Sir Colin Campbell's men to reach the anxious garrison which

had been defending the Residency of Lucknow for three months now. "There was a glorious struggle to be the first to enter every breach in the walls," although "the prize to the winner of the race was certain death." In one such place Lieutenant Roberts saw a Highlander spring first into the gap and fall, then a Punjab native, then an



Sir Henry Havelock.

English lieutenant, and after them pressed Sikhs, Highlanders, and British side by side.

It was a wonderful moment when two dusty figures appeared outside Sir Colin Campbell's headquarters and a hole was cut in the wall to let them in—they were Havelock and Outram, who had made their way secretly to consult with the relieving force.

At last the women and children and their escort were brought away from the Residency secretly and silently, while the native troops were facing an attack in another

quarter of the city. In order to avoid exposed roads, holes were cut in a number of walls for the ladies' carriages and the guns to be drawn through.

§ 2. After the Mutiny was quelled, the governor showed great mercy to all native soldiers who were not known to be actual murderers, and won the name of "Clemency Canning." In this year (1858) the control of the East India Company over Indian trade was declared completely at an end; India was proclaimed part of Queen Victoria's dominions, the Governor-General was made Viceroy, and this became the title of the head of the Government of British India.

In order to give Parliament control over the government of India, a Secretary of State for India was appointed, with a Council of India (composed chiefly of men who had lived in India) to advise him.

After the Mutiny there were many years of peace, although fighting and unrest broke out from time to time on the North-West Frontier. In one frontier war General Roberts (the lieutenant of Peshawar and Lucknow) made a brilliant march from Kabul to Kandahar (318 miles) in twenty-three days, to relieve a British force which was hard pressed by Afghans.

Many native princes of India remained as rulers of their states, with a British Resident to advise them and keep them in touch with the British Government. In 1877 Queen Victoria was declared Empress of India.

As the twentieth century advanced the feeling grew up, both in India and in England, that the peoples of India ought to have a voice in the government of their country.

But there are great difficulties to be overcome before India can be self-governing. It is composed of provinces, each large enough to be a nation; the population of Bengal is equal to that of the British Isles, and that of the Punjab to Spain and Portugal. This vast population of over three hundred millions is divided by religion, race, and the strict rules of caste. There is even an outcaste class whom men of caste will not touch—sometimes they are spoken of as the

“untouchables”—and if men of a certain very high caste come their way they must hurry out of sight. In addition to these difficulties, many of the Indian peasants would not understand any form of government except that of an absolute king, whose will was their law.

Soon, however, the first step was taken towards giving the peoples of India a responsible share in the government. By the India Councils Act (1909) the peoples of India were given a large number of seats on the legislative councils which formed part of the government of each province.



King George V., about the time of his visit to India.

Over these councils there was an executive council for each province, which had the final decision as to what measures should be carried out, and they alone could discuss certain subjects; on these there had been no Indian members, but now there was to be one Indian member elected for each, and one for the Viceroy's Executive Council. Indian members were also, for the first time, to have seats on the Council of India in London, which advises the Secretary of State for India.

Two years later King George V. and Queen Mary visited India, and were crowned with great state at Delhi. This aroused a wave of loyalty throughout the land. Most Indians were proud to see the King-Emperor appear with ceremony amongst the native princes, with their rich jewels and their elephants decked with gorgeous trappings.

During the Great War Indians fought in France, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. As one of their princes said, India had “a feeling of profound pride that she had not fallen behind other portions of the British Empire, but had stood shoulder to shoulder with them in the hour of their sorest trial.”

With this just pride there grew a desire for a greater

measure of self-government. Britain showed her readiness to meet this desire in 1917, when the Secretary of State for India announced in the House of Commons that His Majesty's Government hoped to see the gradual growth of self-government until India could take her place as a responsible member of the British Empire.

A new Act was therefore passed in 1919, which gave Indians more votes in the councils which govern the provinces, and also gave the legislative councils greater powers. It was hoped that this would be a first step towards a "sisterhood of states" in India, each self-governing, with a central government to represent India as a whole.

This Act did not satisfy those Indians who demanded "Home Rule." At one time, in 1919, a rising seemed likely, and the Afghans actually invaded India, to be ready to support the Indians. There was, however, no rising. The new Act continued in force, and in 1928 a Commission of members of the British Parliament went out to India to inquire into its results, with the object of advising the British Government as to the next step.

47. Australia, New Zealand ; Canada ; Egypt

Dominions of Canada (1867) and New Zealand (1907) ; Commonwealth of Australia (1901) ; Gordon at Khartum, 1884-85.

§ 1. Disraeli encouraged Englishmen to look upon the empire in a new light. Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century men had taken it for granted that in the course of time each colony would first become self-governing, and next claim to be an independent nation, and the tie with Britain would be snapped. There was a saying that colonies were like fruits, which must drop off when they are ripe.

Disraeli himself believed this at first, and when there was trouble overseas in the 'fifties, he said impatiently : "These wretched colonies will all be independent in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks."

As the century advanced, the steamship and the cable formed new links between distant lands.* Every nation began to be eager for influence and colonies overseas, and the idea of a great modern empire became one of Disraeli's favourite visions. Self-government must be given to the colonies, but there could still be a common bond of loyalty to the queen, and common action in important matters, such as commerce and justice, war and peace, between all parts of the empire, under Great Britain's leadership.

It was Disraeli who arranged that the queen should be declared Empress of India (see page 265). He would have liked to found an Imperial Council in London, through which representatives of the colonies could confer with British statesmen; but he knew he could not carry such a scheme at that time. In fact, he could not take much action to draw the empire together; the separate parts were then so fully occupied in forming their own systems of government that they had little time to think about what we now call Imperial Federation.

In 1867 Canada had become one united country as the Dominion of Canada, although powers of local government were left to the provinces which formed this union. Canada owed much to the wise suggestions of Lord Durham, which led to the Union Act of 1840 and self-government. The great Canadian-Pacific Railway, crossing the whole Dominion, made the union complete.

Australia had developed into an industrial nation with the discovery of gold and the building of railways in the 'fifties. The different colonies had demanded self-government, which was granted during this period. In the first year of the twentieth century, the Commonwealth of Australia was formed, by a union of all the colonies, although, as in Canada, each was to have its own Parliament for its local affairs.

New Zealand won representative government in 1852, and became a Dominion in 1907.

* In Clive's time it often took a year to get a reply to a message from India.



Queen Victoria in 1887.

It was partly owing to the new idea of empire, first put forward by Disraeli, and again by Joseph Chamberlain in the twentieth century, that in forming the new systems of self-government the bonds of the colonies with Great Britain were not weakened.

§ 2. Disraeli also prepared the way for Britain's influence in Egypt. He bought a number of shares in the Suez Canal from the spendthrift Khedive, or ruler, of Egypt, who owed money to several nations, and England and France sent out officers to collect the debts and try to put Egyptian finance in order.

Soon afterwards there were revolts. Neither the Khedive nor his son could keep order, and yet the Nationalist

party in Egypt objected to British and French interference. France withdrew from the confusion, but a British force was sent to restore order, and when the army had done its part, Lord Cromer succeeded in guiding the Khedive's government so well that many useful reforms were carried out.

Unfortunately the upper reaches of the Nile were far behind Egypt in civilization, and the Sudan was a source of constant anxiety and disturbance. It was decided to with-

draw the Egyptian forces which had occupied the Sudan, and the English General Gordon was sent, with one other officer, to lead them back. Gordon was a man of great courage and honour, but not a leader to choose for retreat. He stopped to help the oppressed natives of the Sudan, and he was besieged in Khartum.

For a whole year Gordon held Khartum. His friend was murdered, and he was the only white man in the city, which was besieged by hordes of Sudanese under a religious leader, the Mahdi, whom they revered as a god.

At last a British relieving force reached the city. But



General Gordon.

they were too late. The Mahdi had stormed Khartum two days before, and Gordon was dead. This tragedy was felt very keenly in England, and Gladstone was bitterly blamed. Lord Cromer continued his fine work of pacifying and reforming in Egypt, and at last the great problem of the Sudan, which was still a centre of disorder and misrule, was once more considered.

General Kitchener * was sent up the Nile with a British and Egyptian army, and, after overcoming many difficulties, he defeated the wild Dervishes at Omdurman (1898), and at last the Sudan was brought under control. It was agreed that Egypt and Britain should govern it jointly, but since disturbances which broke out in 1924 Britain has taken control of the army, called the Sudan Defence Force. The Governor-General of the Sudan is still appointed by Egypt on Britain's recommendation, and the British and Egyptian flags fly there side by side.

Egypt itself is now practically an independent nation, under an agreement reached in 1922 ; but Britain has kept the right of stationing troops there to ensure the protection of the Suez Canal, which is the chief route to India, and of great use to the nations of Europe. Britain is considered the guardian of the Suez Canal, as the United States is of the Panama Canal.

In other ways Britain still acts as protector and adviser in Egypt, and controls her agreements with foreign nations.

48. The Citizen of the Twentieth Century: the Settlement of Ireland

National Health Insurance, 1908 ; Imperial Conference, 1926 ; Irish Free State and Ulster, 1922

§ 1. Queen Victoria just lived to see the opening of the twentieth century. She died in 1901. And so the great Victorian Age, during which England had grown from a

* Afterwards Lord Kitchener of Khartum.

busy industrial island to be the leading partner in a world-wide Commonwealth of Nations, was at an end. The queen's long reign will always be a famous one in British history, and many of England's greatest statesmen, soldiers, writers, scientists, and inventors were "Victorians."

Now King Edward VII. came to the throne, and reigned until 1910, when he was succeeded by his son, King George V.

The opening of the twentieth century found Britain still at war with the Boers in South Africa. When this war was

brought to a close in 1902,* the imperial zeal of the British people was sobered. Men were inclined to think more of the cares and responsibilities of empire, and less of the pride and glory. This change, moreover, led to the strengthening of the bond of brotherhood between different parts of the empire, because now the colonies were no longer considered as British "possessions," but as self-governing nations of a Common-



King Edward VII.

wealth. During the first ten years of the twentieth century all the colonies which were sufficiently advanced gained self-government, although each of the Dominions was still linked with Britain through a Governor-General sent out by Parliament.

The Great War proved how real the bond of brotherhood still was, for every colony rallied its forces to support England. After the war there was an important Imperial Conference in London (1926), at which all the Prime Ministers of the empire gathered together to discuss the common problems and future of this widespread Commonwealth.

* Treaty of Vereeniging.

§ 2. At home, in England, the first years of the twentieth century were also a period of building up the new democracy, which had been created under the guidance of Gladstone and Disraeli.

The system of education was improved by Mr. Balfour's Act (1902), which placed a large number of secondary schools under the control of city and county councils. Now it was possible to give a secondary education to a larger number of children, including scholars from elementary schools. A few years later, in order to improve the health of the nation, medical inspection of children in schools was introduced.

In 1908 the Old Age Pensions Act was passed, by which men and women over seventy, who had not enough money to live upon, received a weekly pension from the Government. After the Great War pensions were similarly granted to all widows with children.

The Old Age Pensions were followed by National Health Insurance, by which employers and workmen both contribute week by week to a national fund, out of which the workers receive weekly payments when they are sick. Later, insurance of the same kind for unemployment was added.

These Acts made the British citizen a really free man. Before then, the name of "free citizen" must have seemed a mockery to many who passed their lives in constant fear of illness, unemployment, old age, and the death of the family bread-winner, against which troubles they had little hope of making provision for themselves.

At the time these Acts, which were proposed by Mr. Lloyd George, met with much opposition, and they added a heavy burden to the national expenditure. The House of Lords refused to pass the Budget by which Mr. Lloyd George had arranged to raise money for these new national services.

The Liberal Government, of which Mr. Asquith was Prime Minister, felt that it was time to lessen the power of the House of Lords. So in 1911 the Parliament Act was

passed, by which any Bill which the House of Commons passed in three sessions following one another should become law, whether the Lords gave their consent or not. Naturally the Lords did not think this right, but the king promised Mr. Asquith that he would create enough new peers to pass it if it should be necessary. Once again the Lords gave way, and most of them left the House without



Mr. Asquith, later Earl of Oxford and Asquith.

voting, as the Duke of Wellington and his followers had done at the time of the great Reform Bill.

Although the early years of the twentieth century saw the new democracy strengthened and the Labour party arise in Parliament, old problems troubled each Government in turn.

One party, led by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, believed that the time had come to reconsider the free trade policy which Britain had adopted in the days of Cobden and Peel. Other countries had disappointed Britain's hopes that they

would establish free trade too, and so British goods were kept out of foreign markets by taxes against them, whereas foreigners could sell as freely as they pleased in British markets. The old arguments arose once more, especially whether it was best to help British manufacturers by taxing foreign goods, or to make some things cheaper by letting the foreign goods come in freely. Mr. Chamberlain wished Empire goods to be free and others to be taxed.

It seemed impossible to decide. But the fear of any tax on food at last turned opinion against protective tariffs (or tariff reform), as the proposed taxation of foreign goods was called.*

§ 3. The other unsolved problem was that of the government of Ireland.

The Irish land troubles had been wisely dealt with by Lord Salisbury's Government after Mr. Gladstone's Land Acts; the land had been purchased from English landlords by the Government, the Irish farmers had been allowed to buy their own fields by yearly payments, and improved farming methods had been taught by an Irish Agricultural Society.

It now remained to settle the problem of government. The Irish of the south demanded Home Rule. But the northern province of Ulster, which was peopled by Protestant families of Scottish and English descent, wished to remain under British rule.

In the British Parliament the Irish members had great power, because by joining either Conservatives or Liberals they could secure the passing or rejection of most of the Bills proposed. So complaints arose that the Irish ruled in the Parliament of Great Britain, and more and more Englishmen began to feel that it would be better for them to be in Ireland. But to many it seemed unjust and ungrateful to place the loyal Protestants of Ulster under the rule of the Roman Catholic majority of the south.

* Later, foreign motor cars, cinema films, and a few other articles were taxed to give the British industries more opportunity to develop.

In 1914 Mr. Asquith's Government (Liberal) passed another Home Rule Bill, and feeling rose so high that there were preparations for civil war between Ulster and the south of Ireland. Britain was divided too: some statesmen promised to support Ulster, and some officers in the British army declared that they would not fight against Ulstermen.



Emmeline Pankhurst.

(From a painting by Georgina Brackenbury in the National Portrait Gallery.)

At this anxious moment the Great War suddenly overwhelmed all lesser disturbances, and the question of Home Rule was laid aside for a time.

During the War some extreme Irish Home Rulers formed a society known as Sinn Féin, which are the Irish words for "We Ourselves," and they caused a reign of terror in Ireland for some years, and stirred up one serious rising in Dublin during the war (1916).

At last the vexed question of Home Rule was settled

as well as it could be at the time by an Act of 1922, which made Southern Ireland a self-governing Dominion of the British Empire, under the name of the Irish Free State, with its own Parliament (the Dail) at Dublin. But six of the counties of Ulster, now known as Northern Ireland, remained part of Great Britain. It sends members to the British Parliament, but it also has a Parliament of its own for local government.

At the time when the Great War burst upon the world, Britain was in the midst of another movement ; besides the Home Rule agitation, there was the campaign of the Suffragettes,* who demanded votes for women. They fought for their cause by making disturbances at public meetings, and even in Parliament when they could get in, by breaking windows and chaining themselves to railings, and going to prison unflinchingly, although most of them were educated women.

During the War the suffragettes gave up their campaign, and the war-work done by women in all ranks of life won the respect of statesmen. In 1918 an Act was passed giving votes to those women over thirty who were ratepayers, lodgers, or wives. In 1928 Mr. Baldwin's Government gave votes to all men and women alike at the age of twenty-one. Thus the rule of the people, or democratic government, has now been completely established.

* A name derived from the Latin *suffragium*, a vote.

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THE FIRST WORLD WAR AND AFTERWARDS

49. Causes of the First World War (1914-18)

Balkan Wars ; Kaiser Wilhelm II.

§ I. In August 1914 there broke out in Europe one of the greatest wars in the world's history—a war which is now spoken of as the First World War. Before the end came, Germany, with her principal supporters, Austria and Turkey, was fighting against eleven allied nations ; even the United States was unable to maintain her policy of avoiding “ entangling alliances ” in Europe, and joined the Allies in 1917.

The armies which took part in Napoleon's campaigns were very small compared with those placed in the field in one year of the Great War. And as much ammunition as was used in the whole of the South African War was fired in one week's attack in 1918.

For years science had been directed to the building of giant factories, and the perfecting of machines until they could be used for almost any purpose—from making parts of powerful engines to wrapping up chocolates in silver paper ! In the first years of the twentieth century motor-cars came into general use, but it was not until 1909 that the first aeroplane crossed the English Channel.

With the outbreak of war in 1914 all the activity and power of science was turned to the deadly business of making war ; already German inventors had been preparing, and Count Zeppelin's giant airships were ready to carry destruction far beyond the field of battle.

In earlier wars the nature of the country, the necessity

of besieging fortresses, and the difficulties of transport—especially in winter—had given soldiers and nations some periods of rest in the midst of the fighting.

There was not a moment's respite in warfare now : while guns ploughed up the ground, aircraft and searchlights swept the sky, and submarines travelled beneath the sea and fired powerful torpedoes alike at warships, passenger liners, and food convoys. No fortress could stand for long against modern high explosives ; bad weather and uneven ground could not check the British tanks, with their caterpillar motion over hedge and ditch. The only possible refuge seemed to be deep trenches in the ground, and even there soldiers were not safe from the most deadly enemy of all—the stealthy clouds of poison gas which no guns could dispel.

Not only the armies in the field, but whole nations, were brought within the belt of war by the attacks of aircraft, from which bombs were dropped to deal death and ruin to men, women, and children in their own homes, far from the battlefield.

People could only bear the suffering and losses of war such as this by promising themselves that it should be fought out as a " war to end war."

Great Britain was, as we have seen, unprepared for war at the moment when it broke out, and fully occupied with her own troubles—with the suffragettes, and the threatened civil war in Ireland—and although she never dared to neglect her navy, she had only a small, though very efficient, army to put in the field.

Yet all through the early years of the twentieth century there had been a restless uneasiness in Europe.

§ 2. The Balkan nations were restive because some of their kindred peoples were still under Turkish and Austrian rule, and they were also quarrelsome amongst themselves. In 1912 and 1913 there had been Balkan wars. These nations looked to Russia as to a big brother, whose protection was uncertain but whose threats might keep their enemies

in check. Russia, however, had been shaken by a war with Japan in 1904, in which Japan had been victorious.

France was still brooding resentfully over Germany's triumphant advance to Paris in 1870, and over the loss of Alsace-Lorraine; and the French nation, determined to be ready for invasion, turned itself into a nation of citizen soldiers.

In Germany, too, every citizen had to serve in the army before he settled down to other work; but Germany maintained this system of "conscription" for different reasons.

Germany had gone on from strength to strength, ever since Bismarck had made her an empire by his policy of "blood and iron." * The German people, by their thoroughness and persistent industry, had won a leading place in the trade and commerce of the world. In every civilized country thousands of Germans had settled and extended their national interests, and wherever there was a market German goods were to be found. Yet this did not satisfy this new empire of central Europe; under Kaiser Wilhelm II. Germany grew eager to spread her rule and become a great world Power. She wished her flag to go before her people and open up new lands for them.

Unfortunately for Germany she was too late. Wherever she turned the older nations were before her, and all she could secure peaceably was a foothold in Africa. Here she proved that her genius did not lie in settling colonies amongst native races.

Balked in her scheme of colonization, Germany tried to establish a powerful influence over the East. She formed an alliance with Turkey, and hoped to become a leading power in Mesopotamia, a land with great promise of future development. A railway was planned, and partly built, to connect Berlin with Bagdad and the Persian Gulf.

Now, again, Germany came into conflict with British interests, as Britain was afraid that the Germans—if they were in force at Bagdad—might threaten her communications with India, or stir up trouble in Afghanistan.

* See Chapter 32, § 5.



Kaiser Wilhelm II. of Germany.

Britain had other causes for suspicion. Wilhelm II. had openly shown his sympathy with the Boers during our troubles in South Africa, and in 1900 he began to build a

great fleet. As Germany had practically no sea-coast to protect, and no overseas empire, it seemed as though this navy must be intended as a threat to Britain. At the same time the German army was becoming the most highly trained in the world, and new railway lines were laid to the frontiers, and large stations built in places where there was no use for them unless they were intended for troops.

All these preparations kept up alarm in Europe, and there was a continual and costly race amongst the nations to equip armies and build ships. All sought allies in case of need: Germany formed a triple alliance with Austria and Italy, Russia made a treaty of alliance with France, and Great Britain one with Japan. Great Britain also had a friendly understanding with France and Russia that she would not play any hostile part against them.

§ 3. In July 1914 an event occurred which stirred all this uneasiness into war.

An archduke who was heir to the throne of Austria was murdered, with his wife, by some Serbians in Bosnia. Austria accused Serbia of encouraging treachery and murder, and demanded that Austrian officers should be allowed to search for the conspirators. This and other demands Serbia could not accept without surrendering her independence, and within forty-eight hours Austria, encouraged by Germany, declared war upon her. Russia prepared to help Serbia, and France was in alliance with Russia, so Germany declared war on both Russia and France.

The British Foreign Minister, Sir Edward Grey, did his utmost to bring the European nations to an understanding, but Germany's determination that there must be war overruled all his efforts.

At first Great Britain was uncertain whether she could keep out of the war without betraying France. The question was decided when Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium.

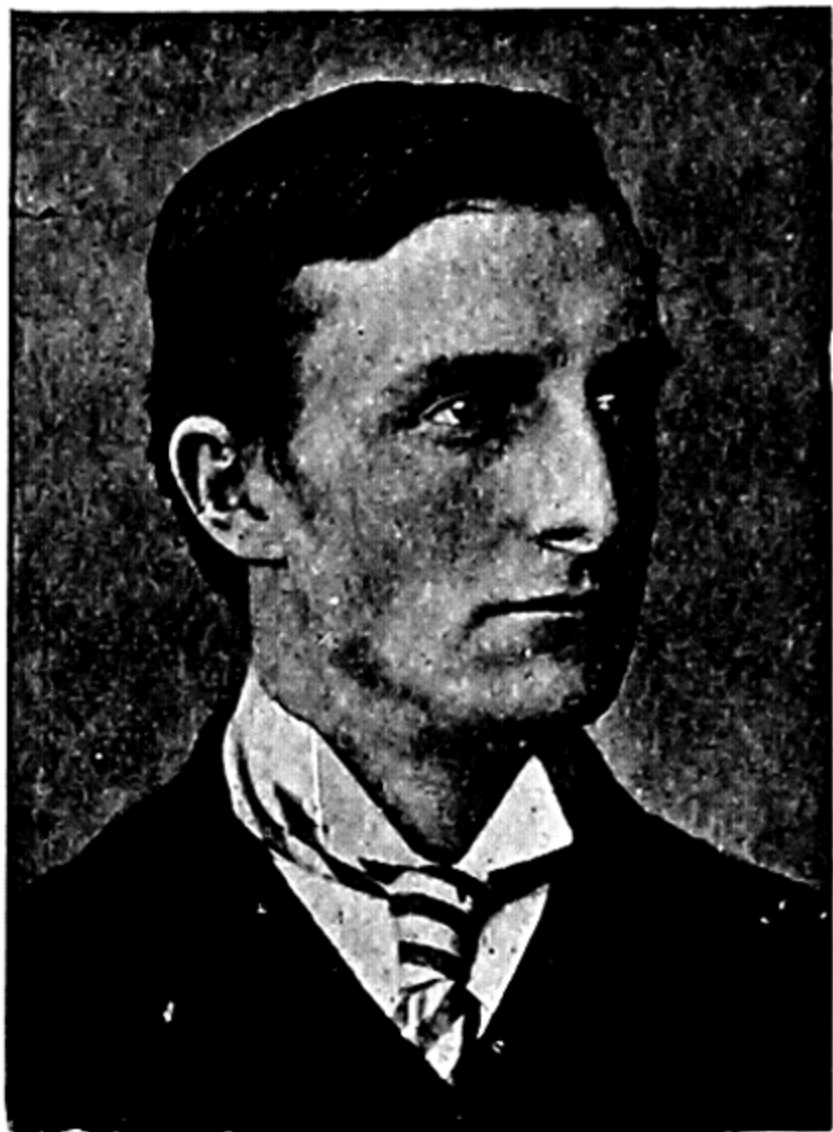
When the independence of Belgium was guaranteed (1839) the great Powers—including Germany, France, and

Britain—had bound themselves by treaty to respect Belgian neutrality in case of war. Later, the agreement had been renewed. In this way it was hoped to save Belgium from becoming once more the “cockpit of Europe,” and to place her as a barrier of neutral soil between Germany and France.

Now Germany demanded leave to march her armies across Belgium to invade France. The Belgians refused. Germany proceeded to force her way across their country in spite of the treaty, which her Chancellor described as “a scrap of paper” which could not be allowed to ruin the German chance of victory.

Britain hesitated no longer; she could not see Belgium outraged and France attacked by land and sea. On August 4, 1914, Sir Edward Grey issued a declaration of war against Germany “owing to the summary rejection by the German Government of the request made by His Majesty’s Government for assurances that the neutrality of Belgium will be respected.”

The German Kaiser remarked that, now the British—“an obstinate nation”—had entered the war, it could not end soon.



Sir Edward Grey as a young man.

50. The Battlefield in France and Belgium

§ 1. At the outset of the war Germany had the advantage of being better prepared than any other nation.

German citizens had been educated, almost from the

cradle, to take a pride in the army, and to look upon their warlike Kaiser, Wilhelm II., as a great soldier-emperor, who was to guide the nation to world power. The army, the guns, and the transport were as perfect as training, scientific skill, and organization could make them, and the grey-coated soldiers in their spiked helmets streamed out across Belgium, sweeping all before them in their relentless and business-like advance.

Germany had to face Russia on the east, and France on the west, and her great hope of victory lay in striking France down in utter defeat before Russia, with her less advanced preparations and her great spaces to cover, could bring her armies to the frontier. It was in order to carry out this purpose as quickly as possible that Germany took the risk of marching through Belgium.

When Britain declared war it was more than ever important to Germany to strike quickly, and on land, for now the British navy barred the way to any attack on the French coast. As yet, however, Britain was not a very formidable enemy on land, and the Kaiser was said to have described her first force of one hundred thousand trained soldiers as "a contemptible little army."

The Allies could not withstand the first determined and overwhelming advance of the Germans, and they fell back before it in the famous retreat from Mons, during which they could not halt for rest and sleep.

Nevertheless the retreat was carried out without panic. The British "contemptibles" fought a gallant rearguard action at Le Cateau, and when the Allies reached the supporting French armies before Paris they were not too much shaken to make a stand, and succeeded in checking the triumphant progress of the Germans. Even the garrison of Paris took part in this action, by a dash from the city in buses and taxis!

Germany was now forced to realize that she could not take Paris in a sudden, dramatic attack, and General Joffre drove the lesson home by attacking in his turn at the battle of the Marne (September 1914). After this battle the

Germans retreated to a better defensive position on the river Aisne. After facing each other right across France for some weeks, with fighting for various points of vantage (such as the road to the coast), the two armies settled into



Marshal Joffre.

the deep entrenched lines which they occupied, with no very great changes, for over three years.

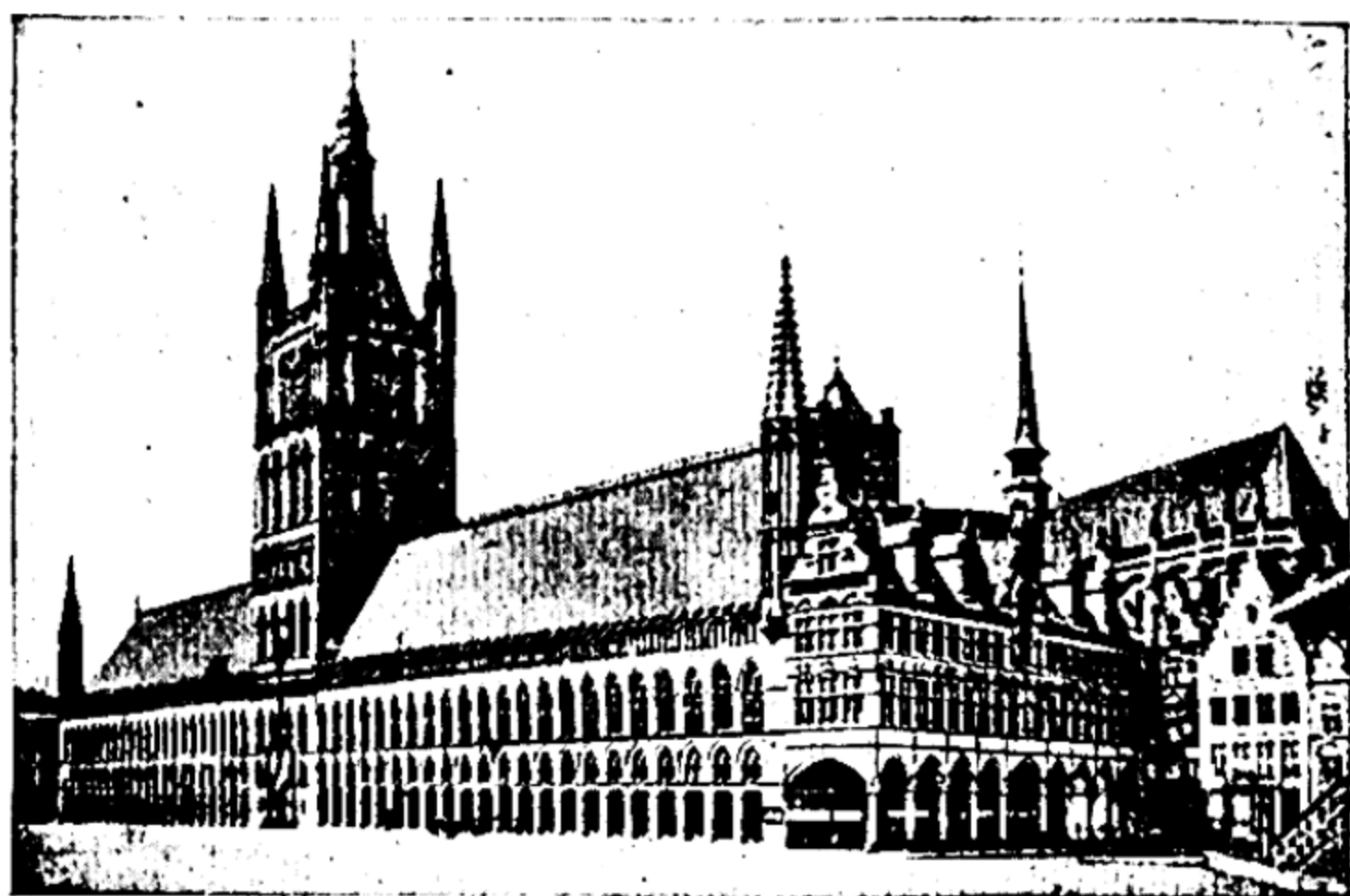
§ 2. The deep trenches proved a better protection against modern artillery and aircraft than stone forts could be. Soon the ground was honeycombed by passages, small rooms, and even flights of steps leading to the deepest "dug-outs," where men could snatch a few quieter hours for sleep and recreation.

Between the two lines of trenches ran a strip of what

was called "no-man's-land," fringed on each side by mile after mile of elaborate barbed-wire entanglements. There were many raids across no-man's-land, to keep the enemy's attention off attacks elsewhere, or to get special information about his troops.

There were also many hard-fought battles which broke up trench warfare for a time in some districts.

It is impossible in a short account even to name most of the heroic struggles in which more men lost their lives than



The Cloth Hall at Ypres.

in any single battle of old-world wars ; * but a few spots have become for ever memorable in the story of Britain.

One of these is Ypres (known to many of our men as "Wipers"), the beautiful old Belgian town whose fine Cloth Hall was a monument to the pride and glory of Flanders trade in wool in the Middle Ages.

Ypres crumbled almost to pieces under the continual bombardment of great guns, and battles raged over and over again on every side of it.

First, the British made an almost hopeless stand there

* For a fuller account, see *Days to Remember*, by John Buchan and Henry Newbolt.

in October 1914, fighting one to four to stave off a German attack. The timely arrival of a single battalion of the Worcester Regiment just turned the tide of the first battle of Ypres in our favour.

Next, the ruins of Ypres looked for months upon the heroic resistance and heavy sacrifice for which the Canadian troops will be for ever specially remembered. Here, in April 1915, a curious green mist was first seen, blowing towards the Canadian trenches. It brought with it a new horror, worse than the scream and explosion of shells—it was the first appearance of poison gas; and hardly had the sickening smell reached the troops when they were stricken with giddiness and blindness, and many lay gasping out their lives. Later on science, set to defensive work, provided the troops with protective gas-masks, but the Canadians bore all the horror of the first gas attack.

Nevertheless no German regiment won its way into ruined Ypres.*

Lens, a city of coal-mines, was another stubborn battle centre.

§ 3. In 1916 France and Britain opened a great attack on the river Somme. By now Britain's man-power was no longer "contemptible." Lord Kitchener's new battalions were pouring into France, and support had come from all parts of the British Empire. The British Navy had played its part by safeguarding the transport of all these troops, and also convoys of foodstuffs, without which the nation must soon have starved, as there was never at any time more than three weeks' supply of food in the island.

Germany now found herself hemmed in by Russia on the east, France on the west, Italy (now on the side of the Allies) on the south, and the British fleet in the North Sea. With the aid of the fleet a blockade was established, by which much food and material, which she sorely needed, was

* In 1927 the beautiful Menin Gate, in newly-risen Ypres, was dedicated to the memory of men of the British forces for whom there are no known graves.

prevented from reaching her. The operations of the Allies began to resemble a vast siege, and the attack on the Somme made the first serious breach in the enemy's position. In this battle the British tanks were first used.

Early in 1917 an event happened which strengthened



Field-Marshal Earl Kitchener.

Germany's hands for a time. Russia, shaken beyond endurance, carried out a ruthless revolution in the midst of war. She swept away her old government. The Czar and his family were murdered. Power was seized by the Communists, who governed with the help of the Councils or Soviets of the workers and the soldiers. Russia had no longer strength



THE MEETING OF KING GEORGE V. AND KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM
ON THE WESTERN FRONT.

(From the picture by Herbert A. Olivier. By permission of the Fine Arts Society, Ltd.)

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and authority to carry on the sternest war so far known ; so she withdrew, and made a separate treaty with Germany.

Meanwhile Germany had deepened American indignation against her by a ruthless submarine campaign. The German submarines torpedoed all vessels. Even passenger



Field-Marshal Sir Douglas Haig (Earl Haig of Bemersyde).

liners, carrying citizens of a neutral nation, were not spared, and many Americans were drowned in the sinking of the great liner *Lusitania*.

Fighting raged on all through 1917. The desperate French defence of Verdun, which barred the Germans' way to Paris, seemed a daily miracle ; and a third muddy and

dogged battle of Ypres was fought in water-logged Flanders, under Sir Douglas Haig.

At last, in April 1917, the United States declared war on Germany. With all the resources of America now at their back, the Allies gained new hope, and America more than made up for the withdrawal of Russia. It was, however, some time before any number of American troops could be ready to join the armies in France, and Germany determined to make one more vigorous attack on the Allies.

§ 4. First she led an advance in Italy. Then, in the spring of 1918, came a desperate attempt to break through the Allied lines and reach Paris.

At first the sheer weight of numbers, driven on with unswerving persistence, did carry the German troops some way forward, but the Allies rallied in time.

The French general, Foch, was now in command of all Allied troops in the whole field of war in France. One of the greatest services which Britain's fine commander, Sir Douglas Haig, rendered to his country was in recognizing the need of one supreme Commander-in-Chief and showing his readiness to act under Foch.

Scarcely had the Germans come to a standstill in their last offensive, when Foch prepared to attack in his turn. It was the beginning of the end. Germany was disheartened. By now American troops were arriving in France at the rate of ten thousand a day.

Success came quickly. First the Germans were driven back to the strong entrenchments of the Hindenburg Line (named after their Commander-in-Chief), which they had occupied in 1916.

Foch organized a prolonged assault along the whole of this formidable line: the Americans were to attack on the Meuse, the British under Haig in the centre, and Foch himself was to turn the German left.

Not one division failed, and this mighty battle of weeks proved to the Germans that further resistance was hopeless.

Austria had once more been driven from Italy, while the British expedition to Salonika had been successful in supporting Serbia and Greece in the Balkans.

By 4th November Turkey, Bulgaria, and Austria had all made peace, and at last Germany herself asked for an



Marshal Foch.

armistice. Terms were drawn up and signed in a railway carriage in a wood near the battle-front, at eleven o'clock on November 11, 1918.

Imperial Germany existed no longer.

Two days before the armistice the German people had deposed the Kaiser, who, his dreams of a great military

empire shattered, retired to a quiet country house in Holland. Germany declared herself a republic.

51. The British Navy in the War

Battle of Jutland, 1916

§ 1. Just as England's "wooden walls" had been her surest shield against Philip of Spain and Napoleon, so her ironclad fleet of the twentieth century was a vital safeguard in the Great War. It did not, however, fall to the lot of Admiral Jellicoe and Admiral Beatty to lead their powerful dreadnoughts and battle-cruisers into such actions as Copenhagen and Trafalgar.

But from 1914-18 their steadfast watch was never for a moment relaxed. "During these four years the British fleet never ceased to carry great armies over sea; to sweep every ocean clean, and guard the territories along their shores; to shut up the hostile empire within an impassable barrier. In a word, it retained every day and every night, from the first hour of the war to the last, that control which was the most vital condition of success." *

At first there were fast German raiders—which appeared now here and now there, firing deadly torpedoes at merchant ships—to be chased off the sea. The glory of sinking the most famous of these, the *Emden*, which had spread a trail of terror across great stretches of ocean, fell to the Australian warship *Sydney*.

Later thousands of mines were laid to work havoc amongst submarines, and other tracks had to be swept clear of mines for the passage of British ships. One memorable night the British warship *Hampshire* sank, with Lord Kitchener of Khartum on board, bound on an important mission to Russia.

Off the coast of Coronel, in South America, Admiral

* Sir Henry Newbolt in *Days to Remember*.

Cradock, with a small squadron, faced a far stronger fleet under the German Admiral von Spee, and went down fighting. Later Admiral Sturdee challenged von Spee off



Admiral Jellicoe (Viscount Jellicoe of Scapa).

the Falkland Islands, and this time it was the German admiral who went down, his flag flying to the last.

Meanwhile the great German fleet was kept within its harbours, chafing at inaction, and losing condition for want of use. Mighty fleet though it was, Germany could not, in her fourteen years of intensive shipbuilding, overtake the British navy, either in strength or experience or tradition ; and, as the cost and labour of building a dreadnought is

immense, the Kaiser was unwilling to risk them for small purposes.

§ 2. Only once was there a grapple between the two main fleets—when Admiral Jellicoe caught the German



Admiral Beatty (Earl Beatty of the North Sea).

High Seas Fleet on one of its rare excursions into the North Sea, and the battle of Jutland took place (May 1916).

The noise and smoke and flames of this battle of ironclad giants made it almost impossible for the admirals themselves to follow the course of the action. But the British sailors had the advantage in training and experience, and at last

the Germans were unable to keep up the accuracy of their fire in the long ordeal. Nevertheless two of the finest British battle-cruisers—the *Queen Mary* and the *Indefatigable*—sank in a very short time.

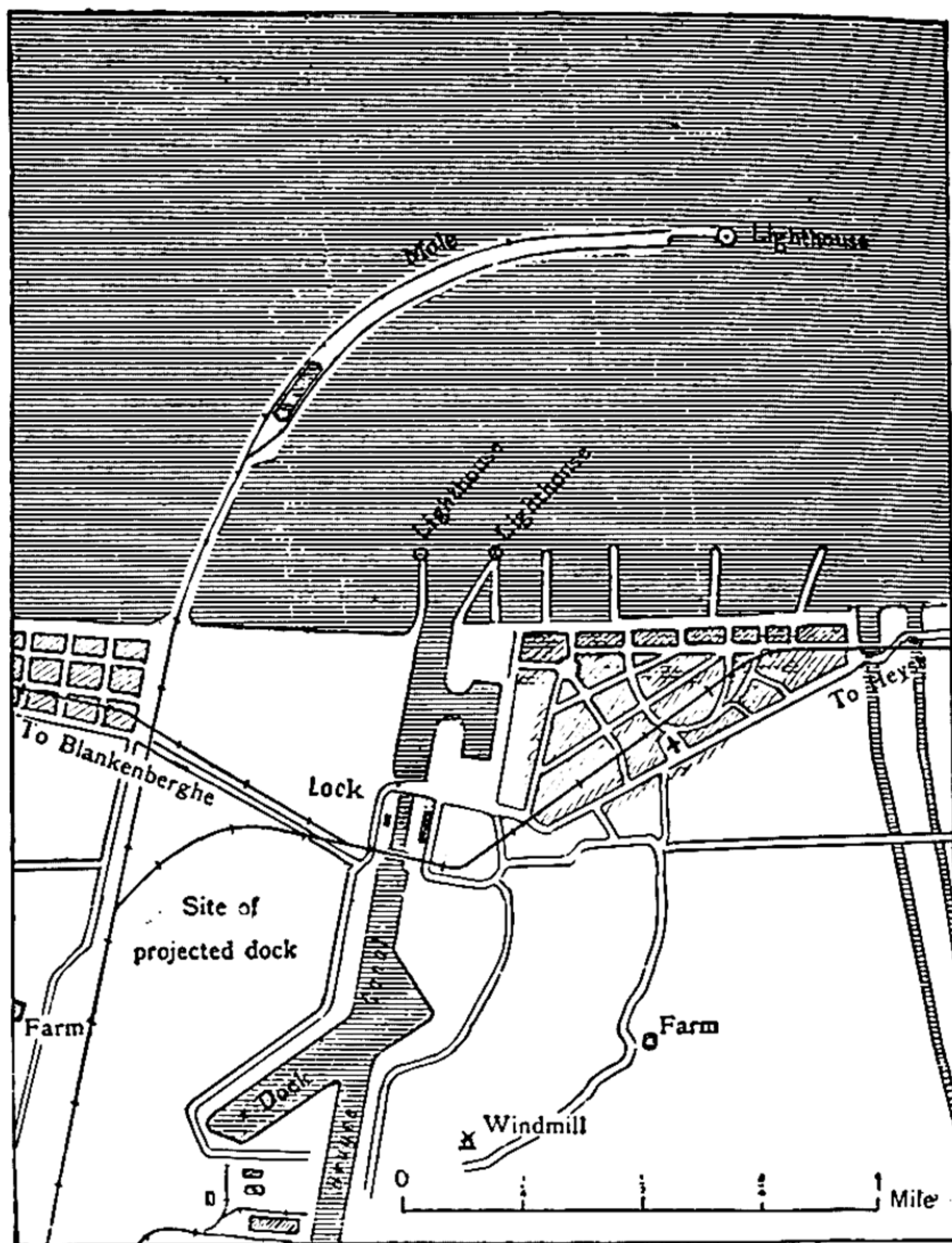
A story is told of Admiral Beatty in this battle, which breathes the same spirit as Nelson's when he would not see the signal to retire. A sailor reported to Beatty on his flagship, *Lion*, which was then on fire, that another vessel on which he relied was blown up. "There seems to be something wrong with our ships to-day," said Beatty, and ordered the *Lion* to be steered *closer* to the enemy.

By nightfall the British were in command of the situation, and the Germans had suffered very heavy losses, but the darkness enabled their commander to slip back with the rest of his fleet behind the old barriers.

§ 3. Henceforth the chief danger at sea was the submarine or U-boat. The British navy fought it with mystery boats (known as Q-boats), which were old tramp steamers or merchant ships with cunningly-hidden guns and unseen gunners. When a submarine attacked one of these apparently helpless vessels, the Q-boat let it come to close quarters and then suddenly unmasked its guns and fired.

One of the finest naval exploits of the war was the British raid on the submarine base at Zeebrugge (April 1918), carried out by vessels of the Dover Patrol under Vice-Admiral Roger Keyes. First a group of small boats dashed ahead and threw out clouds of smoke to screen the operations. Under cover of this the gallant old cruiser *Vindictive* ran up against the stone causeway, or Mole, of Zeebrugge, and threw out landing gangways. Two ferry-boats from the river Mersey, *Iris* and *Daffodil*,* followed her with landing parties, and the *Daffodil* held the *Vindictive* in place with great difficulty and danger to herself. The viaduct connecting the Mole with the land was blown up by the landing

* Both these vessels were again plying on the Mersey in 1931.



Zeebrugge.

parties, and two old ships were sunk across the mouth of the canal, thus imprisoning the German submarines, and in less than half an hour the British expedition was clear away.

Besides these famous exploits there were a great number

of smaller encounters, feats, and services carried out by destroyers in charge of food convoys, submarines adventuring everywhere, patrol boats guarding the coast, and hardy little mine-sweepers braving death day after day.

52. The Eastern Field of War: Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, and Palestine

§ 1. In 1915 Britain tried to carry out a daring scheme by which it was hoped to drive Turkey out of the War. At this time Russia was still one of the Allies, and had appealed for help ; if the British fleet could force a passage through the Dardanelles to Constantinople, it would relieve Russia from the pressure of Turkey in the East, and also open a route by which fresh ammunition could be supplied to the Russians.

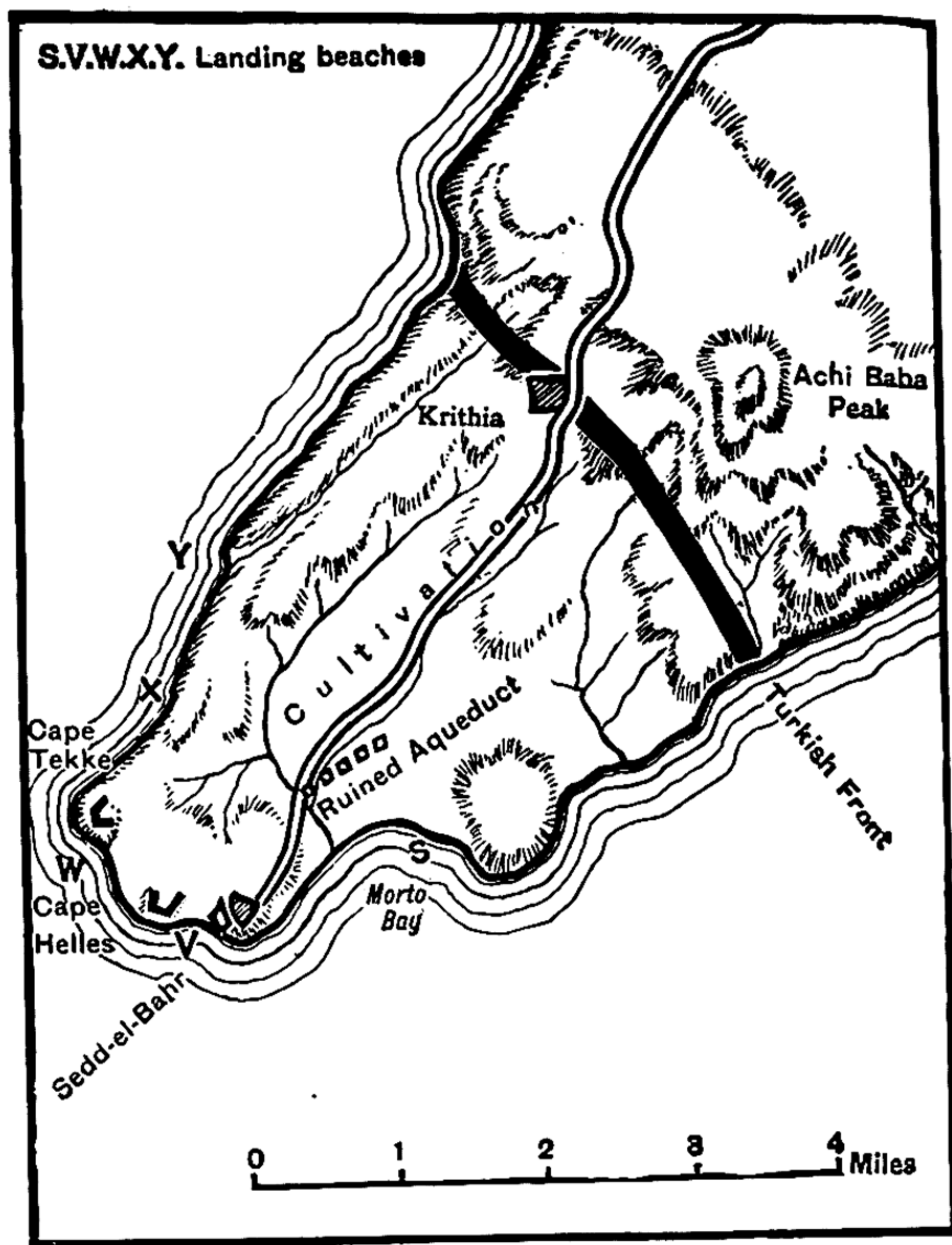
The first step must be to capture the Gallipoli Peninsula, which commanded the straits, and a force under Sir Ian Hamilton was organized to make the attempt.

The great adventure of Gallipoli had at last to be abandoned, but the men who took part in it should be for ever remembered with honour. It was here that the name of Anzac became famous, for the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps formed two of the chief divisions of Sir Ian Hamilton's troops.

Unfortunately the Turks had time to prepare, and Gallipoli bristled with guns and barbed wire, so that there was scarcely a foothold on the shore, which was also overlooked by cliffs and sandbanks, covered with low bushes.

Five small beaches at the south-west end of the peninsula were chosen for the various landing parties, and named, for the convenience of the commanders, S, V, W, X, Y.

On the day of the five landings the Commander-in-Chief steamed round the end of the peninsula on the great battleship *Queen Elizabeth* to see the progress on each beach, and to try to silence the Turkish artillery, where it was most



The landing beaches at Gallipoli.

harassing, with the powerful British naval guns. In his diary there are some vivid pictures of the scenes he passed. Of a landing farther north he reported :

"The Australians have done wonderfully at Gaba Tepe. They got 8,000 ashore to one beach between 3.30 a.m. and 8.30 a.m. . . . Navy reports not one word spoken, or movement made, by any of these thousands of untried troops either during the transit over the water in the darkness or nearing the land, when the bullets took their toll."

Watching the same landing himself, he wrote :

"We could see boatloads making for the land ; swarms trying to straighten themselves out along the shore ; other groups digging and hacking down brushwood. Even with our glasses they did not look much bigger than ants. . . . These fellows have been worth the making. They are not charging up into this Sari Bair range for money or by compulsion. They fight for love—all the way from the Southern Cross [Australia] for love of the Old Country and of liberty. Wave after wave of the little ants press up and disappear."

Elsewhere the scene was a still more anxious and terrible one. At V Beach an old collier ship, the *River Clyde*, had purposely been run aground as near the shore as possible, and inside it 2,000 men of the Hampshire Regiment and the Dublin and Munster Fusiliers waited to spring from the big doors which had been cut in the ship's sides. Sir Ian Hamilton described this scene :

"We could quite clearly watch the sea being whipped up all along the beach and about the *River Clyde* by a pelting storm of rifle bullets. We could see also how a number of our dare-devils were up to their necks in this tormented water, trying to struggle on to land from the barges linking the *River Clyde* to the shore. There was a line of men lying flat down under cover of a little sandbank in the centre of the beach. They were so held under by fire that they dared not, evidently, stir. Watching these gallant souls from the safety of a battleship gave me a hateful feeling ! Roger Keyes * said to me he simply could not bear it. . . .

* Afterwards in command at Zeebrugge.

The *Queen* opened a heavy fire from her 6-inch batteries upon the castle, the village, and the high steep ground ringing round the beach in a semicircle. . . . Ashore the machine-guns and rifles never ceased. . . . Drowned every few seconds by our tremendous salvoes, this more nervous noise crept back insistently into our ears in the interval. As men fixed in the grip of a nightmare, we were powerless—unable to do anything but wait.”

The waiting was not in vain. Later the Commander-in-Chief was able to enter in his diary :

“ At 1.50 a wireless message came in to say that the Irish and Hants from the *River Clyde* had freed their way through Sedd-el-Bahr village and had driven the enemy clean out of all his trenches and castles.”

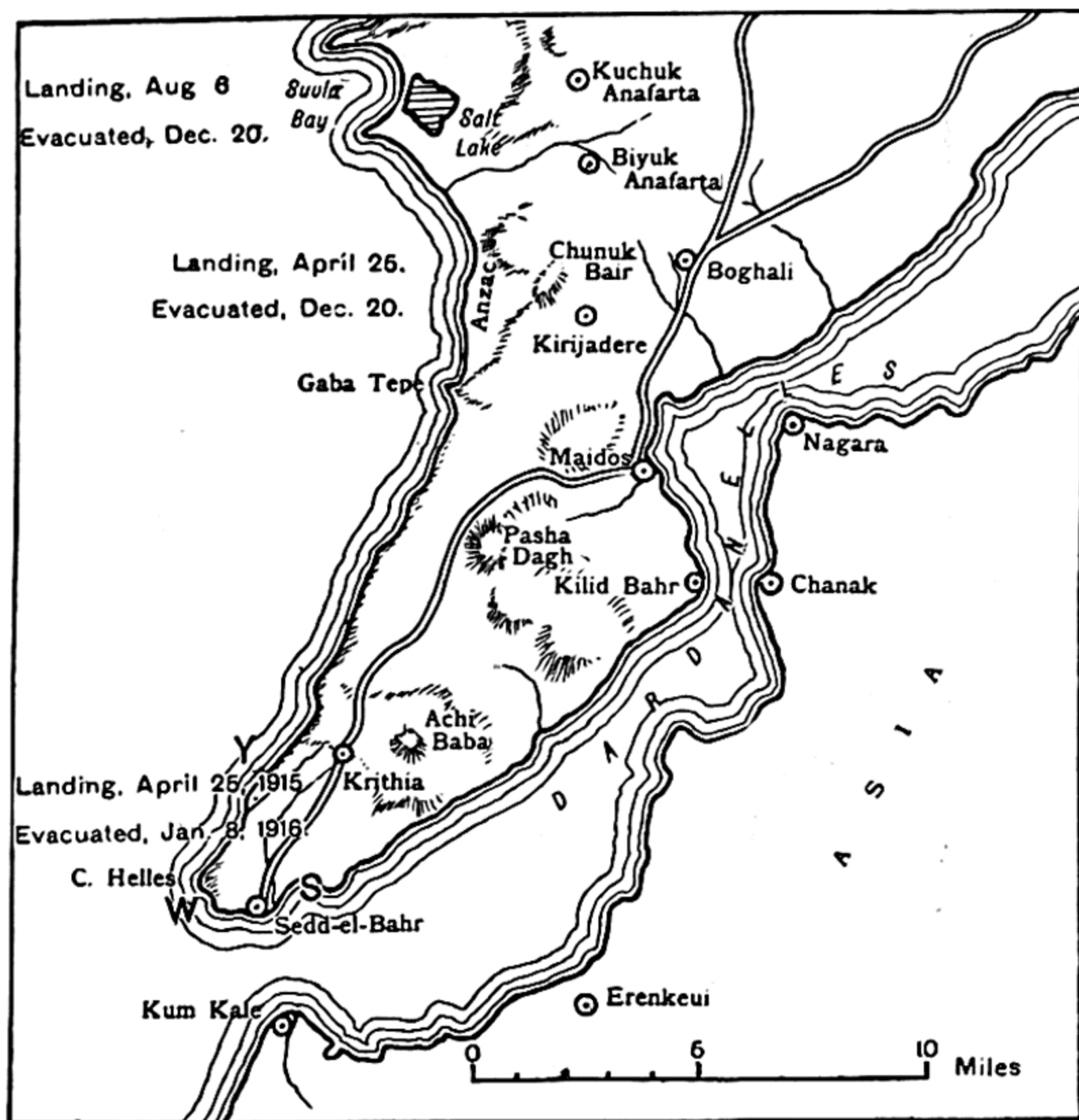
Thus entrenchments were formed on Gallipoli ; but unfortunately there was still the problem of landing supplies. Eventually water, ammunition, food, and mules for transport were landed. But the soldiers endured long days of scorching heat and great thirst, when the small quantities of water, brought to them so laboriously, could not be kept cool and clean. The flies swarmed so thickly that it was useless to brush even a bite of food clear of them, for they settled on it again as it was put into the mouth.

§ 2. After seven months, first of holding on to the coast and then of attack, the decision went forth that Gallipoli must be abandoned. By this time (December 1915) Bulgaria had entered the war on the German-Turkish side, and Britain's spare forces were needed at Salonika to help the Serbians. There was no longer any hope of forcing the Dardanelles.

The withdrawal from Gallipoli was quite as wonderful a feat as the landing. Twenty thousand Turks, immediately in front of the British and Anzac trenches, spent the Sunday planned for evacuation in unsuspecting calm. During that night soldiers, guns, and warships slipped quietly away, and only three men were wounded by stray bullets. Early the

next morning the astonished Turks saw a line of flames, twelve miles long, stretching from Suvla Bay to Gaba Tepe : it was the abandoned British stores, which had been soaked with petrol and set alight.

The Gallipoli campaign failed to win its object—too



Evacuation of the Gallipoli Peninsula.

much was attempted with too small a force—but it did draw off Turkish troops which would otherwise have been pressing hard on the harassed Russians. The record of soldiers and sailors who fought and died there is indeed a fine one.

§ 3. Another British force was meanwhile struggling in Mesopotamia, with the double object of defending the approaches to Egypt and India. Here German influence had been at work for years, preparing the way for the



Field-Marshal Sir Edmund Allenby (Viscount Allenby of Megiddo).

Berlin-Bagdad railway of the Kaiser's dreams, and the Turks had learned the methods of modern warfare from expert German officers.

A first successful British advance to Kut—on the great river Tigris, famed in ancient history—was pushed too far in a wild hope of capturing Bagdad, and ended in a retreat

upon Kut once more. Here the British force stood a siege of some months, and then surrendered.

It was not until 1917 that the Mesopotamian campaign became part of a great sweep forward which finally gave Britain the command of Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Syria.

First Sir Stanley Maude occupied Bagdad. Then General Allenby began a steady, systematic advance, marching on just as fast as his engineers could lay pipes to bring water with them.

Once he was in Palestine, a brilliant campaign ended in the fall of Jerusalem (December 1917), which Allenby entered as a conqueror, but without parade and on foot. He was thus said to fulfil an ancient Arab prophecy that a deliverer should enter Jerusalem on foot.

There were still large Turkish armies to be cleared out of Palestine, and now came a wonderful "drive," in which Allenby's cavalry swept all before them, while an Arab army closed in upon the Turks from the east. It was a great moment when Allenby, with his army of British, Indians, Algerians, African negroes, and Jews, met Colonel T. E. Lawrence with his faithful Arabs.

This army of desert Arabs had played a fine part in harassing the Turks, and it was largely the creation of Colonel Lawrence, who moved amongst the Arabs as one of themselves, and had braved and suffered much in learning to live as they lived.* When the spirit of revolt against the Turk awoke amongst them, he assured them that Great Britain would help them to win their freedom, and would not snatch it from them again when the war was over. They trusted him, and under the Emir Feisul they shared and completed Allenby's great triumph.

* For Lawrence's great story, see *Lawrence and the Arabs*, by Robert Graves. (Cape.)

53. The Troubled Peace

§ 1. The Treaty of Versailles was signed in the great Hall of Mirrors in the palace where Louis XIV. had reigned as "Grand Monarch." In the same room the King of Prussia had been proclaimed German Emperor.

The terms of peace were mainly the work of three leading statesmen—M. Clemenceau of France, President Wilson of America, and Mr. Lloyd George of Great Britain.

Before the end of the war President Wilson had published his famous "fourteen points," on which he considered that any true and hopeful world-peace must be based. His first aim was to pledge nations, as far as possible, to submit their disputes to arbitration—that is, to have them decided by independent judges, instead of settling them by war. The influence of the "fourteen points" led to the creation of the "League of Nations" as part of the peace settlement. The object of the League was to ensure lasting peace among the nations of the world. Unfortunately the League was always incomplete, and the United States did not join it. But though it failed in its main object it did some good work; it was a bold and novel experiment, and mankind has learned much from both its successes and its failures.

§ 2. As a result of the First World War four Empires—Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Turkey—collapsed. The historic Austrian Empire was broken up into the states of Austria, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia (an enlarged Bohemia); while other parts of the fallen empire united with Serbia to form the kingdom of Yugoslavia. Poland once again became a nation. Germany restored Alsace-Lorraine to France, and she was deprived of her colonies and her fleet. The new Turkish Republic, under its able dictator Kemal Ataturk, became a strong power in the Middle East, with Angora instead of Constantinople (now Istanbul) as its capital. (For Russia see § 5 of this chapter.)

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THE RETURN OF H.M.S. *PLATICTHE* FROM ZEEBRUGGE (see page 295).

(From a painting by Charles Dixon, R.I.)

The problem of the ex-Turkish provinces in the Near East, and of the ex-German colonies, was settled by a new system of mandates, by which they were placed under the guidance of certain nations, which became responsible to the League of Nations for their progress. A mandated country was not a "possession," and certain of them were to become independent as soon as they were thought fit for self-government.

France received a mandate for Syria, Britain for Palestine (to which the League of Nations hoped to see Jews return in considerable numbers), and France, Japan, and the British Empire for the various German colonies in Africa and the Pacific.

A mandate for Iraq (Mesopotamia) enabled Britain to keep her promise to the desert Arabs, which dated from the day when Sir Stanley Maude declared that the British force came to Mesopotamia as liberators and not conquerors. At first there was hesitation on the part of the British Government, and mistrust among the Arabs, which grew into revolt for a time. There was difficulty, because mandated territory could not be proclaimed independent at once. Fortunately the work of devoted British administrators and such friends of the Arabs as Colonel Lawrence and Miss Gertrude Bell* was not undone, and at last an independent Arab kingdom was set up in Mesopotamia under the new name of Iraq, with the Emir Feisul as king.

§ 3. The First World War was followed by a troubled "peace" and by a number of remarkable revolutions. These revolutions resulted in Dictatorships, with the power in the hands of one man and his chief supporters and not of parliaments. The twentieth-century Dictators were much

* This Englishwoman had made personal friends of many Arab leaders in her travels, and during the Mesopotamian campaign she assisted the British staff at Basra. When the new Iraq was formed, she acted as Assistant Political Officer to the High Commissioners appointed under the mandate.

concerned with *planning*. They had no faith in the nineteenth-century policy of letting things take their natural course without state interference, but they believed in organizing for the benefit of the state the whole of its resources, human and material.

The two outstanding revolutions, each with its own ideas, were the National or Fascist and the Communist. The Fascist system was developed in Italy from 1922 onward by its Duce (or Leader) Mussolini, who had fought in the First World War. His followers wore black shirts as their uniform. The name Fascist comes from the Latin word *fascis*, the bundle of rods carried by the consuls of ancient Rome as a sign of their authority. Fasces, or rods, bound together suggest the binding together of individual citizens into the "totalitarian" state, organized for "total" effort in peace or war.

§ 4. Fascism attracted the attention of the Germans, who were embittered by their defeat, by the loss of their colonies, and by widespread unemployment. A large section of the community saw in totalitarian government the one hope for their country, and found a Führer (or Leader) in the Austrian, Adolf Hitler. In 1923 Hitler attempted a "March on Berlin," and was imprisoned for a time. On his release he reorganized his followers, known as National Socialists (shortened into Nazis), who wore brown shirts as their uniform. In 1934, during a terrible "slump" in trade, Hitler became the head of the German state. He threw Communists and Jews into prisons or into concentration camps where hideous cruelties were practised.

Fascists and Nazis reduced unemployment by work in munition factories, on road-making, drainage, and building. They allowed business men to keep their factories, but prices, profits, and wages were strictly controlled, and strikes were forbidden. Vast sums of money were spent on armaments, and a warlike spirit fostered in the people. It was well said that "unless democracies can show a similar enthusiasm, unity, and determination, and a similar spirit

of sacrifice to these totalitarian régimes, how can they expect to hold their own in the challenging modern world ? ”

§ 5. Communism, the other system of government and industry of which so much has been heard since the First World War, is based on the ideas of the German Socialist, Karl Marx (1818–83), who taught that the means of production (factories, farms, etc.) should belong not to individuals but to the nation, and should be used for the benefit of the whole “ community.” Marx had dreams of a world-wide Communist Workers’ Republic.

In 1917, during the First World War, a revolution broke out in Russia, which had for centuries been ruled by emperors known as Czars. Power now passed into the hands of the Bolsheviki, who were the extremists. Their leader was Lenin, and he divided the vast Russian Empire of nearly 200 million people into republics, each with a Council, known as a Soviet. And so Russia became the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—the U.S.S.R. Lenin proved himself one of the greatest rulers Russia had ever known, and when he died in 1924 Petrograd (previously St. Petersburg) was renamed Leningrad in his honour.

Lenin was succeeded by his secretary, Stalin. In 1928 Stalin began the first of the famous “ Five Year ” Plans by which the whole life and industry of this vast nation was to be modernized and mechanized. The peasants’ strips or small holdings in each village were made into one great “ collective ” farm, worked co-operatively by tractors and other modern machinery. All kinds of factories, of which there had been few in Czarist Russia, were built and all kinds of machinery introduced. Stalin’s Plans made greater changes in Russia than had ever before taken place.

§ 6. As a result of the four years of war (1914–18) trade and industry had suffered, and the nations tried to protect themselves and their home industries by “ tariff walls ”—that is, by imposing customs duties or tariffs on foreign goods in the hope of keeping them out and of forcing the use of home-made goods and increasing employment. But

tariff walls may do more harm than good in the present age, when rapid transport, wireless, and flying are drawing nations closer together than ever before. However, when in 1924 trade revived for a time, relations between nations improved and Germany became a member of the League of Nations. Unfortunately this trade boom (1924-29) did not last. In 1929 came a terrible slump (1929-34) when trade fell away and unemployment figures went up throughout the world. During this disaster nearly every country was faced with idle factories and millions of men out of work and their families in need. The United States suffered as well as Europe, but it found a great leader in its president, Franklin Roosevelt, who introduced his plan for industry known as the New Deal.

§ 7. It was in 1934 during this trade slump—in which Germany suffered severely—that Hitler became the head of the German State. He withdrew from the League of Nations and proceeded to throw off the restraints imposed on Germany by the Peace Treaty. Moreover, he became more friendly with Mussolini, and the two Dictators entered into an alliance known as the Berlin-Rome axis, which was afterwards extended to include Japan and became the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo axis. As early as 1931 Japan (defying the League of Nations) invaded Manchuria, one of the Outer Territories of China, and had proclaimed it an independent state under the name of Manchukuo. Though nominally independent, it was in fact subject to Japan.

From 1934 onwards Europe was again haunted by dread of coming war. In 1935 Hitler reintroduced conscription into Germany. And about this time Mussolini invaded Abyssinia, and so defied the League of Nations of which both were members. In 1936 Hitler, ignoring the Peace Treaty, sent troops into the Rhineland. In Spain civil war broke out, and the rival nations of Europe used Spanish battlefields to fight out their own quarrels. In the East, too, war clouds had again gathered, and the storm broke when Japan once more attacked China.

§ 8. By this time Germany had become the most heavily armed Power in the world, with the largest air force and munitions industry. At last, in 1938, Hitler entered Vienna, annexed Austria, and forced a quarrel with Czechoslovakia. In those dark days, when Europe was on the brink of war, the British Premier, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, worked hard in the cause of peace, and made three journeys by air to Germany to confer with Hitler. He succeeded in arranging a conference of four Powers—Britain, France, Germany, and Italy—at Munich in September 1938, and when he returned to London it seemed that at the last moment the danger of war had been averted.

But peace can be maintained only if there is the desire and will to keep peace. Despite the settlement reached at the Munich Conference, Germany annexed Czechoslovakia and threatened Poland. Then, in September 1939, with the invasion of Poland, mankind was plunged into a Second World War affecting the life and faith and hopes of millions of men and women and children. It is not yet possible to record the various stages of the war. In no previous conflict had war extended over the whole world, but this time every country was affected directly or indirectly. Britain and her allies had to strain every nerve and enlist every capacity of leadership and of science to overcome the determination of Germany, Italy, and Japan to dominate the world. By 1944 Italy had capitulated and 1945 saw the complete military collapse first of Germany and then of Japan.

Now the nations of the world are faced with the gigantic task of restoring peace and security to a world worn out with six years of struggle, with cities devastated, agriculture and industry in ruins, with misery and disease stalking through the lands. Such a task demands all the courage, foresight, and goodwill of which we are capable if civilization is not to perish from the earth.

QUESTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR WRITTEN WORK

It is suggested that where there is a school or free library, children should be encouraged to read historical stories bearing on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. If the teacher can visit the library and note what books are available, it might be arranged for some of the class to be responsible for one subject or period, and others for another. Children who can get books might also try to discover and collect additional facts for the class, or bring extracts of their own choice to be read aloud.

In counties where there is a rural library scheme, the librarian will usually send books which are asked for, and the children might make a short list for the local secretary.

Pupils should have easy access to a complete History of England, as they may need to refer to previous periods—a copy each, if possible. A "source book" is also useful.

In the questions which follow, some require further reading, and some can be answered from this book.

I. Looking Back

1. Do not refresh your memory *before* answering these three questions; but, after you have written, refer to your text-book to see how you could have improved your answer:
 - (a) Name some of "the romantic and picturesque figures" of the Middle Ages, and write an account of the one which particularly interests you.
 - (b) What are your chief impressions of the Tudor period?
 - (d) What was the all-important matter which you followed out during your study of the Stuart period? Set out the main facts briefly.
2. Trace a map of England, and put in all the towns which you know were important before 1700. Put a cross against cathedral towns, and underline the three biggest towns in the country in 1688.
3. What striking differences would be noticeable between a bird's-eye view of England at the end of the seventeenth century and such a view to-day?

4. *Local Study*.—Try to find a plan or map of your county town during the seventeenth century. (Is there one in your local museum?) Study it, and write down what you notice about it.
5. Read Macaulay's History, Chapter III.

2. Picture of England during the Early Georges: the Great Days of Wool

1. Put into your map all the counties which you know to have been occupied in the wool trade in Defoe's time. Add to your map any towns connected with wool which you left out before.
2. Show that it was still true at the beginning of the eighteenth century that "the sheep paid for all."
3. Is there a cloth-market in your own or in a neighbouring town? If so, tell all you can about it, and give a word-picture of a scene of which it would be the centre about 1720.
4. Give an account of an annual fair in the time of George I. (Write about Stourbridge Fair, if you cannot describe a local fair such as Nottingham Goose Fair or Stagsham Bank Fair in Northumberland.)
5. Read "A Visit to Stourbridge Fair" in *Boys and Girls of History*, by E. and R. Power (Cambridge University Press, 2s. 6d.); *The Golden Fleece*, by Morris and Wood (Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.); Daniel Defoe's *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724), if you can find it in the library.
6. Sing "The Vicar of Bray." (Study the words first.)
7. Poem, "Wha the deil hae we got for a King?" (See *Carmina Britannicæ*, Horace Marshall.)

3. Scotland of Rob Roy: the "'Fifteen"

1. Give an account of life in the Highlands in the time of George I.
2. Tell the story of the 1715 rebellion. (North country children should read up and write about the Earl of Derwentwater.)
3. Tell, orally, as vividly as you can, some incident from a book which you have read dealing with these times.
4. Refer to Green's *Short History*, Chapter IX., Section 10 (illustrated edition).
5. Read Scott's *Rob Roy* (you can skip the "dry" parts in your first time reading); Sir Walter Besant's *Dorothy Foster*; *In the Fifteen*, by Adams.
6. Sing "Derwentwater's a Bonnie Lord," and "Derwentwater's Farewell" (in *Ballads, Songs, and Pipe Tunes*, by W. G. Whitaker, published by Curwen, 6s.), "Rob Roy McGregor, Oh."

4. Walpole, Squire and Prime Minister, 1721-42.

1. Would it be true to say that Walpole was a typical Member of Parliament of his time?
2. Discuss this in class: "Walpole, a Great Peace Minister."
3. What grounds are there for saying that the reign of George I. is an important one in the history of England?

5. Walpole: the Government of England

1. What is meant by "party" government? When did this method of government begin? Is it an entirely satisfactory method?
2. Why has the English Parliament been called the "Mother of Parliaments"?
3. Give a brief account of the development of parliamentary government in England up to the resignation of Walpole.
4. Why is this study of Parliament important for you?
5. Write short notes on: Hanover; the Cabinet; No. 10 Downing Street.
6. Refer to Green's *Short History*, Chapter IX., Section 10; and to source book.
7. Read the pen-pictures of Sir Robert Walpole and of his son, Horace Walpole, in *Historical Portraits* (Nelson's Teaching of English Series); Henry Fielding's poem, "To Sir Robert Walpole," and John Gay's poem, "The South Sea Bubble" (both in *History and Poetry*, in Nelson's Teaching of English Series).
8. Sing "Sally in our Alley" (a song of the period).

6. Wesley (1703-91) and the Church: the Methodists

1. Write a historical note on each of these: Anglicans, Puritans, Nonconformists, Methodists.
2. What was the condition of the Church of England in the first half of the eighteenth century? How was a change brought about?
3. Was any one of the three revivalists mentioned in this chapter ever in your town, neighbourhood, or county? If so, tell about his visit.
4. Tell of the origin of the Wesleyan Methodists. When was your local Wesleyan church built?
5. Sing one of Charles Wesley's hymns (e.g. "Jesu, Lover of my Soul"; "Hark, the Herald Angels sing"; "Soldiers of Christ, arise").

6. Refer to Green's *Short History*, Chapter X., Section 1 (the illustrated edition, if possible).
7. Read *The Journal of John Wesley*, extracts in source book; also any good Life of Wesley in your library (make notes, and prepare to give an oral account of his life to your class); Hilliard's *De Vane* (for Methodists).

7. The Jacobite Rising of '45

1. Draw a map showing the route of Prince Charlie. Mark important places.
2. Which was the more serious of the risings, the '15 or the '45, to the English Government? Why? Why were they both unsuccessful?
3. Would you have been a Jacobite or a Georgian? Give your reasons.
4. Tell, orally, one of the romantic incidents connected with the '45 rebellion.
5. Refer to Green's *Short History*, Chapter X., Section 1, and to source book.
6. Read Scott's *Waverley*; Ainsworth's *Preston Fight*; Henty's *Bonnie Prince Charlie*; D. K. Broster's *The Flight of the Heron*; R. L. Stevenson's *The Master of Ballantrae*, *Kidnapped*, *Catriona*; Dorothea Moore's *Captain Nancy* (Nisbet).
7. Read aloud some Jacobite ballads, like "Johnny Cope," etc. (in *Carmina Britannicæ*); "Wha'll be King but Charlie," etc. (in *History and Poetry*, Nelson).
8. Sing some of the Jacobite songs of the period, such as "Charlie is my Darling," "Will ye no come back again?" "Wi' a Hundred Pipers," "Wha wadna fecht for Charlie?" "Flora Macdonald's Lament."
9. Learn by heart the toast, "God bless the King," in *Carmina Britannicæ*.
10. Why do you think so many novels, poems, and songs have been written round Prince Charlie?

8. An Empire Builder: William Pitt, the Great Commoner, 1708-78

1. What difficulties had William Pitt to overcome before he became a power in Parliament? How did he overcome them?
2. Compare Walpole and Pitt as men and as statesmen.
3. What part did England take in the War of the Austrian Succession, and why did she interfere?
4. Distinguish between the War of the Spanish Succession and the War of the Austrian Succession as to (a) why England took part,

(b) the chief events, with dates, (c) the results. (Arrange notes in parallel columns, verify from textbook, memorize them, and then give an oral account without reference to notes.)

5. Debate : Was Pitt a greater patriot than Walpole ?
6. Read " William Pitt, Earl of Chatham," in *Historical Portraits* (Nelson); Macaulay's Essay on Chatham; Empire Marketing Board's Leaflet on Pitt.

9. India : Clive and Dupleix

1. Draw a map of India and insert all the places mentioned in this chapter. Try to show how various nations have entered India.
2. Tell the story of India up to the time of Clive. Use your map to illustrate your answer.
3. What is the importance of the success of the English at Arcot ? Read *Robert Clive*, by R. Gatty, in Putnam's Junior History Series (2s. 6d.): this book tells the story of India through the centuries; Roe's *Embassy to the Great Mogul, 1615-18*; Macaulay's Essay on Clive.

10. Clive and the Conquest of Bengal : Battle of Plassey, 1757

1. Give an oral account of the battle of Plassey. Illustrate it, if you can, with a plan of the battle and picture of the period. Show why it is so important.
2. Continue your reading about Clive: Henty's *With Clive in India*; Strang's *One of Clive's Heroes*; the Empire Marketing Board's Leaflet on Clive, and other books. Refer to source book.

11. Clive and Warren Hastings

1. Write an essay on the romance and tragedy of Clive's career as an empire builder.
2. Draw a map of India, showing the area which came under British control during the time of Clive and Hastings.
3. What contribution was made to the history of the British Empire by Warren Hastings ?
4. What is meant by " impeachment " ?
Read Part III. of *Robert Clive*, in Putnam's Junior History Series, and Macaulay's Essay on Warren Hastings.
5. Write short notes on : Dupleix; Mir Jafar; Wandewash.

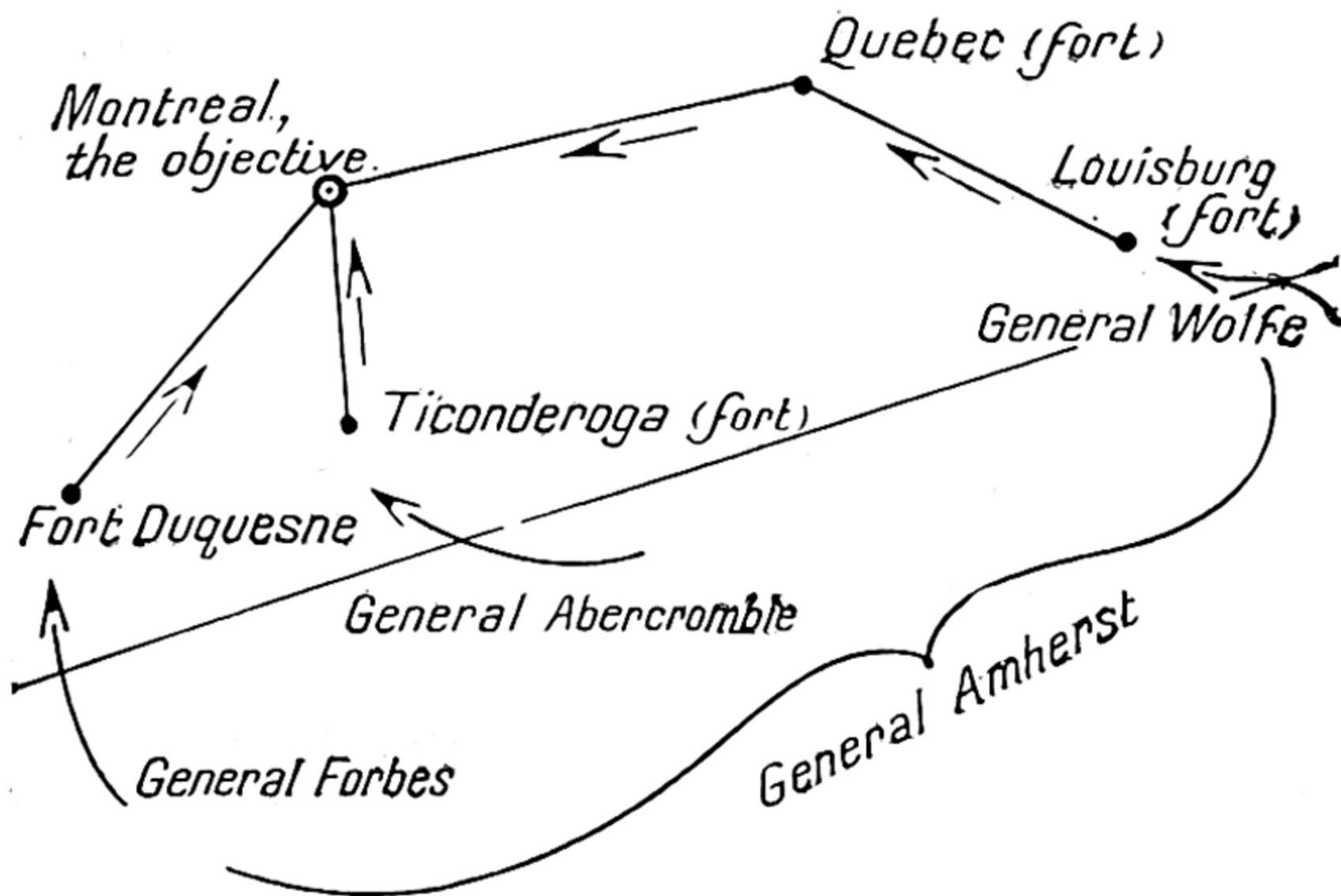
12. England and France in North America

1. Trace a map of North America, and show the English and French settlements up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Insert what dates you can.

2. Contrast the aims and methods of the early English and French settlers in North America.
3. Tell all you can of one English and one French empire builder in North America.
Read selections from Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World*, by Kenneth Forbes (Macmillan), and John Smith's *Early History of Virginia* (1627).
4. Read *The Old Dominion* and *By Order of the Company*, by Mary Johnston; "In the Dark Land," in John Buchan's *The Path of the King* (Nelson).

13. Wolfe and the Conquest of Quebec, 1759

1. Why does 1759 deserve the title of "The Wonderful Year"?
2. Give an illustration of the vital part played by the navy in the establishment of our overseas empire. Sketch the type of ship at that time.
3. Draw a map, or, better still, make a model to illustrate the campaign of which the taking of Quebec was the climax.
4. Read the account of this campaign in Fletcher's *History of England*, Vol. III., page 207, and then explain the sketch-plan following:



5. Tell the story of the taking of Quebec in detail.
6. Read the poems "Quebec," by F. G. Scott, (in *Patriotic Song*,

Arnold); Goldsmith's "Stanzas on the Taking of Quebec" (in *History and Poetry*, Nelson); "Quiberon Bay" (in Henry Newbolt's *The Island Race*).

7. Sing "Hearts of Oak" (1759), "The Girl I left behind Me" (same period).

14. Captain Cook: First Voyage to Australia, 1768

1. Draw a map of Australia and New Zealand. Show, if you can, the voyages of Cook, and insert as much as possible from your reading of this chapter (places, native tribes, plants, and animals, etc.).
2. For further particulars read A. W. Jose's *Growth of the Empire* (Murray, 4s. 6d.); Woodward's *A Short History of the Expansion of the British Empire* (C.U.P., 5s.); Strang's *Early Days in Australia* and *Pioneers in Australia*.
3. Then say what is the significance of such names in the map as Torres Strait, Dirk Hartog Islands, Tasmania, New Zealand, Dampier Archipelago, Cook's Strait, Queen Charlotte Sound, Flinders Bay, Bass Strait. Insert these in your map, and add others of similar significance if you can.
4. How did Captain Cook meet his death? Say why he is given a prominent place in English history.
5. Show the various ways in which we obtained our first footholds in different parts of the empire.
6. Read Rolf Boldrewood's *Robbery under Arms*; Charles Reade's *It is Never too Late to Mend*.

15. The American Revolution

1. Prepare for a debate or essay on "The Causes of the American Revolution."
2. What would your opinion of the Stamp Act have been if you had lived in 1765?

16. The Birth of the United States of America

1. Draw a map of the American colonies which revolted, and insert the places mentioned in this chapter.
2. Give a short account of the War of American Independence.
3. Show that the position of England during this war became dangerously isolated.
4. What influence had sea-power in this war?
5. Write short notes on: The Stamp Act, the Declaration of Independence, Saratoga, Yorktown, the Battle of the Saints.
6. Why is the possession of Gibraltar important to Britain?

7. Pitt opposed the imposition of the Stamp Duties on the Americans, and opposed concluding peace with them. Explain his attitude.
8. Read Longfellow's "The Ride of Paul Revere"; Thackeray's *The Virginians*; Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy*; "Brother Squaretoes" (in Kipling's *Rewards and Fairies*); *The Defence of the Rock*, by E. E. Green; "Saratoga" (in Hilaire Belloc's *Eyewitness*, Nelson).
9. Learn "The Birth of a Nation," by J. R. Lowell, in *History and Poetry* (Nelson).

17. George Washington and the New America

1. What difficulties had the thirteen states to overcome in forming themselves into a nation?
2. Tell all you can about slavery in the States. Show that the keeping of slaves violated their own Declaration of Independence.
3. Prepare a lecturette on "Washington, Patriot and Statesman." Illustrate it with pictures and stories, if you can. (Refer to source book and to Green's History, illustrated edition, Chapter X., Section 2.)

18. The England of George III.: "Farmer George" and the Squires

1. Was it a good thing that George III. was taught as a boy that he must try to *be a king*?
2. Who was "Farmer George"? Describe his character as fully as you can. (Refer to Green's History, Chapter X., Section 2, and to Fletcher's History, Vol. III., page 282.)
3. Describe the dress of ladies and gentlemen and their children of these days, preferably from a picture by Romney, Gainsborough, or Reynolds. (See National Portrait Gallery, or local Art Gallery, or write for picture postcards or photographs to the British Museum, or to W. F. Mansell, Elfin Grove, Teddington. Refer, if you can, to Turberville's *English Men and Manners in the Eighteenth Century*.)

19. Town and Home Life in the Eighteenth Century

1. Read "George III.'s Visits to Eton," in *Boys and Girls of History*, by E. and R. Power (C.U.P.); Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield*; *A Shorter Boswell* (Nelson).
Refer to Turberville's *English Men and Manners*, as before, for illustrations on all the matters mentioned in this chapter.
Refer to Green's History, illustrated edition.

2. Imagine you are a looker-on at Vauxhall in the second half of the eighteenth century, and describe the scene.
3. Write short notes on Dr. Johnson, David Garrick, Oliver Goldsmith, Sir Joshua Reynolds.
4. Describe a "Georgian" house (preferably one in your own neighbourhood).
5. Visit your museum and antique shops. Write down what you can see.

20. Pitt the Younger: Parliament and Empire

1. By what means did the younger Pitt help to restore order in England and the empire?
2. Colonies at one time were said to be like fruit which falls from the tree when it is ripe. Explain this. What event seemed to prove this? Show how this idea gave way to a new idea about colonies in the time of the younger Pitt.
3. Prepare for an essay on "The Elder and the Younger Pitt as Men and Statesmen."

21. Changes in Farming and Country Life

1. Describe a village as you think it was before 1750.
2. Tell all you can of Turnip Townshend, Robert Bakewell, and Coke of Holkham.
3. What is the significance of our English hedgerows?
4. *Local Study*.—Try to find out when the common field system ceased in your district. How was the change brought about? Did anybody suffer? Have any of the "commons," roads, wells, etc., which were to remain public property, disappeared? Is any of the land still in the hands of the same family to whom it was awarded by the Enclosure Award?
5. Read "A Sheep Shearing at Holkham," in *Boys and Girls of History*; the extracts from "The Village" and "The Task," in *History and Poetry* (Nelson).

22. Britain becomes the Workshop of the World: the Flying Shuttle, 1733; First Factory Act, 1802

1. What do you know of Kay, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton?
2. Visit your nearest museum and describe any of the old machines you see there.
3. *Local Study*.—Refer to your local history, or such books about your county as the Highways and Byways Series, to find out

if any of the conditions mentioned in this chapter existed in your locality (e.g. workhouse children imported).

4. Read George Eliot's *Silas Marner*; Mrs. Gaskell's *North and South*; Henty's *Through the Fray* (machinery riots, etc.); Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*; Mrs. Craik's *John Halifax, Gentleman*; "The Rioters" (from Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*, Nelson).

23. Grand Alliance of Coal, Iron, and Steam: Watt's Steam Engine, 1765 (the Year of the American Stamp Act)

1. Give a short account of the life of James Watt.
2. Write about any great founder of industry in your district.
3. If there is a canal in your district, find out all you can about its history. Tell what is carried on it.
4. Read *The Golden Fleece*, by Morris and Wood (O.U.P.), and *The Romance of the Cotton Industry*, by Wood and Wilmore (O.U.P.), both well illustrated.

GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. Write an essay on "Necessity is the Mother of Invention," illustrating it from the story of the Industrial Revolution.
2. Make sketch-maps to show distribution of population before and after the Industrial Revolution.
3. Would you rather have lived before or after the Industrial Revolution?
4. (a) Sum up the gains and the losses of the Agrarian Revolution.
(b) Do the same with regard to the Industrial Revolution.

24. The French Revolution: the First Stage

1. What were the chief causes of the French Revolution?
2. Describe geographically one of the incidents in the first year of the Revolution.
3. Begin to read a story about the French Revolution—e.g. *The Tale of Two Cities*, by Dickens; *The Red Cockade*, by Stanley Weyman; *The Red Cap of Liberty*, by L. T. Meade; *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, by Baroness Orczy; *In the Reign of Terror*, by Henty.
4. Learn to sing "The Marseillaise."

25. The Second Stage: the Reign of Terror

1. What do you know about Lafayette, Marie Antoinette, and Robespierre?

2. Compare the revolution in England in 1688 with the French Revolution in 1789.
3. Describe a scene from a book which you have read about the French Revolution.
4. Read the stories of the Reign of Terror in Hilaire Belloc's *Eyewitness*.

26. England and the French Revolution: Burke, Tom Paine, and Pitt

1. What was the attitude of England towards the French Revolution at first, and why did this attitude change?
2. Why was Burke afraid of the French Revolution, and how was Tom Paine disappointed in its results?
3. Read the poems inspired by the French Revolution and given in such books as *History and Poetry* (Nelson), and *Carmina Britannicæ* (Horace Marshall). Also Oliver Goldsmith's lines on Edmund Burke, quoted in both these books.
4. Read *Modern Historians of the French Revolution* (Nelson).

27. Two Giants of Land and Sea—Napoleon and Nelson: Napoleonic Wars, 1793–1815

1. Draw a map of Europe and the Mediterranean. Show all the places mentioned in this chapter.
2. Begin reading *Napoleon*, by C. R. Cleave, in Putnam's Junior History Series.
3. What was Napoleon's first blow at England, and how did it fail?
4. Write short notes on: The National Assembly; the Directory; the Consulate.

28. Napoleon becomes Emperor, and Nelson saves England

1. Insert on your map all the places mentioned in this chapter.
2. Why did Napoleon abandon the idea of invading England?
3. Mention the great naval battles from 1793 to 1805, and describe one of them, with a plan if possible.
4. Give a brief account of the life of the younger Pitt.
5. Compare the battle of Trafalgar with the battle of Jutland.
6. Sing "Ye Mariners of England."
7. Learn by heart Wordsworth's Sonnets in *History and Poetry* (Nelson); or Campbell's "The Battle of the Baltic"; or "An Incident of the French Camp," by Browning.
8. Read *The British Navy* (Nelson); Marryat's *The King's Own*; *In Press-Gang Days*, by Pickering.

29. The Fall of Napoleon : Wellington

1. Describe the life of a soldier or a sailor at the beginning of the last century.
2. Write a short account of the life of Wellington.
3. Write out and learn a table of the chief events in Napoleon's life, with dates, and then give an oral account of it, without reference to your notes.
4. Write an essay on "The Personal Magnetism and Genius of Napoleon." (Use your reference library; mention actual incidents to illustrate your points.)
5. Work in groups and prepare an account of one of the following : Trafalgar, the Corunna retreat, the lines of Torres Vedras, the retreat from Moscow, Waterloo, with large plan, and read it to your class.
6. Listen to Schubert's "Two Grenadiers," and Tchaikowsky's "1812 Overture" on the gramophone. What pictures do they call up in your mind?
7. Read *The British Soldier in the Days of Napoleon* (Nelson), *One of the 28th*, and *Through Russian Snows*, by Henty; *The Young Bugler*, by Finnemore; *The Great Shadow*, by Conan Doyle; *How England saved Europe*, by Fitchett.
8. Learn verses from Byron's "The Eve of Waterloo"; "Nelson, Pitt, and Fox," by Sir Walter Scott (in *History and Poetry*); "The Burial of Sir John Moore."

30. The Making of South America

1. Trace a map of South America. Insert the names of the republics there. Account for the good feeling between these republics and England to-day.
2. Why are Spanish and Portuguese so largely spoken in South America?
3. Tell the story of Bolivar. (Read his life in Quiller-Couch's *Roll Call of Honour*, Nelson.)

31. The United States of America : Abraham Lincoln ; Civil War, 1861-65

1. What difficulties had the United States of America to meet before they became really "United States"? What was there in their *early* history which contributed to these difficulties?
2. Why is Abraham Lincoln placed among the great men of the world?
3. Read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; *From Log Cabin to White House*; *With Lee in Virginia*, by Henty; *Abraham Lincoln*, in *Heroes of* (3,564)

the Nations Series ; " John Brown " and " Abraham Lincoln," in Quiller-Couch's *Roll Call of Honour*.

4. Sing the battle hymn of the Republic, " Mine eyes have seen the glory," to the tune of " John Brown's Body."

32. The Making of Germany and Italy : Greece and Belgium, 1830 ; Italy, 1861 ; Germany, 1871

1. Why was 1848 called " a year of revolution " ?
2. Read all you can about Bismarck, and say how he made Germany an empire.
3. Find out more about the three great Italian patriots, and tell all you can about one of them.
4. Tell what part England took in the rise of new nations both in the New World and the Old.
5. Sing Garibaldi's hymn (Novello and Co.).
6. Learn by heart as much as you can of Byron's " The Isles of Greece."
7. Read Henty's *The Young Franc-Tireurs* (about the Franco-German War), and his *Out with Garibaldi* ; Hayens's *Red, White, and Green* (about Hungary) ; Trevelyan's *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy* (cheap edition, Nelson) ; " Garibaldi," in Quiller-Couch's *Roll Call of Honour*.

33. The Problem of Ireland : Plantation of Ulster, 1611 ; Act of Union, 1800 ; Roman Catholic Emancipation, 1829

1. What incidents in the history of Ireland, up to 1760, caused her to nurse a grievance against England ?
2. What effect upon Ireland had the American and the French revolutions ?
3. Write notes on Swift, Grattan, Wolfe Tone, Daniel O'Connell.
4. Sing some of the Irish songs in the *National Song Book* (" The Minstrel Boy," " Clare's Dragoons," etc.).
5. Read *A King's Woman*, by K. Tynan ; *Kilgormen*, by Reed.

34. England after Waterloo : Cobbett's " Rural Rides " ; New Corn Law ; Peterloo. 1815-19

1. How did English people suffer after Waterloo ?
2. Tell what you can of the England that William Cobbett saw, and what he thought about it.
3. Write notes on : The Luddite Riots ; Corn Laws ; Peterloo ; the Gag Acts.
4. Find out if your town or district suffered during this period, and if it took any part in the disturbances.

35. The Reform Bill of 1832

1. Tell the story of the Reform Bill.
2. Prepare a speech such as you think a keen reformer might have made in 1832, and another such as the Duke of Wellington might have made. Debate the question in class.
3. Write an account of any local agitations or disturbances in connection with the Reform Bill.

36. First Acts of Reformed Parliament: New Poor Law, 1834; Town Councils, 1835

1. Tell what you know of the Speenhamland system of relief of the poor. How was this defective? How did the Government remedy it?
2. Show how the first reformed Parliament did useful work for the country.
3. Read Dickens's *Oliver Twist* and *Our Mutual Friend*; Mark Twain's *The Prince and the Pauper*.

37. Trades Unions, 1825

1. What are trades unions? Tell of the work of Francis Place and Robert Owen.
2. *Subject for a Debate*: "Which side would you have taken if you had seen a notice in 1838, 'Be a Chartist'?"
3. Read Kingsley's *Alton Locke*.

38. Railways, Steamships, and Penny Post: First Railway, 1825; Penny Post, 1840

1. Show that railways were a necessary development of the Industrial Revolution.
2. Write an essay on "Transport," and collect pictures to illustrate your essay.
3. Compare the development of railways after the Napoleonic Wars with the development of motor transport after the Great War.
4. Tell the story of the railways, and refer to your own local railway history if possible.
5. Write an essay on "The Penny Post—before and after."
6. Read Chapter XI. in *Boys and Girls of History* (Vol. II.).

39. Repeal of Corn Laws, 1846; Ten Hours' Day, 1847

1. Show by the use of squared paper the changes in the price of wheat up to 1850, using the following figures:
Middle Ages, about 6s. per quarter; 1772, 40s.; 1780, 50s.; 1795, 104s.; 1805, 90s.; 1813, 123s.; 1815, 70s.; 1817, 98s.; 1822, 45s.; 1830, 65s.; 1835, 40s.; 1840, 66s.; 1845, 52s.; 1850, 40s. (How much to-day?)
2. Consult your reference books for wages of agricultural labourers and artisans, and make tables like the above.
3. Now write an essay on what are sometimes called "The Good Old Days."
4. What is meant by Free Trade? Who were the pioneers in this movement?
5. Why were Factory Acts necessary? What reforms did they bring about, and when?
6. Read Hope's *English Life and Labour* (Nisbet); Allsopp's *Change to Modern England* (Nisbet); Chapter XIV. in *Boys and Girls of History* (Vol. II.); Kingsley's *Water Babies*.

40. The Progress of Science: Faraday, Kelvin; Pasteur, Lister

1. When Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 the average length of life was 28 years; when she died (in 1901) it was nearly 40 years; it is now 53 years. Say what you think has helped in making this change.
2. Divide yourself into groups, and prepare short accounts of various scientists or inventions.
3. Read Pasteur's Life in Quiller-Couch's *Roll Call of Honour; Pioneers of Invention* (Harrap); *Men of Science and their Discoveries* (Harrap); *The Master Thinkers* (Nelson).

41. Foreign Affairs: the Crimean War and Afterwards

1. When and how did the Turks get into Europe? Show that they caused much unrest among the people around them. Why would England not help to drive them out of Europe in the middle of the last century?
2. Tell (a) some incident in the Crimean war; (b) the story of Florence Nightingale. (See *Roll Call of Honour*.)
3. Read Tennyson's poems, as suggested in the chapter, and Longfellow's "Santa Filomena." (Learn some verses of one of them by heart.)

42. The Making of the Modern Citizen : Elementary Education Act, 1870 ; Irish Land Acts, 1870, etc.

1. Tell the story of the gradual granting of the vote to the people of England ; or tell what is meant by saying that ours is a " democratic country," and how has the change been brought about ?
2. If voting is a right, show that it is also a responsibility.
3. *Discussion*.—Let one group speak for Gladstone and another for Disraeli, each finding something to say about his work as a statesman. (N.B.—A historical, *not* a political discussion.)

43. The Story of South Africa : I. the Boers and the British

1. Describe the early history of the Boers.
2. Make a map of Africa and insert the names of places mentioned in this chapter. (Put dates where you can.)

44. The Story of South Africa : II. Livingstone and Africa ; Rhodes ; War and Union

1. Show on your map of Africa what parts are included in the British Empire. (Insert dates where you can.)
2. What difficulties had to be overcome before the Union of South Africa was formed ?
3. Show that the granting of self-government to the Boer colonies was a courageous step, and that this action was justified.
4. Tell the story of Livingstone or Rhodes.
5. Read "Livingstone" in Children's Heroes Series (Jack), or in *Roll Call of Honour*, or any other book ; Empire Marketing Board leaflets on Rhodes ; *Poems of South African History*, by Petrie ; one of Rider Haggard's South African stories.

45. The Story of India : I. Clive and Hastings to Dalhousie and Roberts

1. Trace four small maps of India on one page, and show the growth of British power in India (a) before Clive ; (b) after Clive and Hastings ; (c) before the Indian Mutiny (Dalhousie, 1848-56) ; (d) to-day.
2. Describe the work of the brothers Wellesley and of Lord Dalhousie in India.

3. Read the stories of India and Afghanistan in Book V. of Synge's *Story of the World* (Blackwood); *Progress of India in the Century*, by Temple (Nineteenth Century Series); *India* (in British Empire Series).

46. India : II. Indian Mutiny, 1857; End of East India Company, 1858; India Councils Act, 1909

1. How does the government of India differ from that of the other Dominions? Show that the British Government is true to its principle of "self-government."
2. What caused the Indian Mutiny? Describe one of the events in it.
3. Give a brief account of the East India Company (its beginning, its power, its end).
4. What has British rule in India done for its people?
5. Read Fitchett's *Tales of the Great Mutiny*; Strang's *Stories of the Indian Mutiny*; Tennyson's "The Relief of Lucknow"; Whittier's "The Pipes of Lucknow." (Learn some verses by heart.)
6. Sing "The Campbells are coming."

47. Dominion of Canada, 1867; Australia, 1901; New Zealand, 1907; Gordon at Khartum, 1884-85

1. How did England come to control Egyptian affairs? Tell of her troubles in that country and in the Sudan. What is the position to-day?
2. What did Cromer, Gordon, and Kitchener do for Egypt and the Sudan?
3. Read Empire Marketing Board leaflets; Stevens's *With Kitchener to Khartum*; "Gordon" (in *The Roll Call of Honour*), or his Life by S. Churchill (Nisbet).

48. The Citizen of the Twentieth Century: National Health Insurance, 1908; Irish Free State and Ulster, 1922; Imperial Conference, 1926

1. Who now enjoy the rights of citizenship under the British Government? Trace briefly the struggle to gain these rights.
2. "These Acts [of the twentieth century] made the British citizen a really free man." Comment on this statement.
3. How was the problem of Irish citizenship settled?
4. If you possibly can, study the cartoons in volumes of *Punch*.

49. Causes of the First World War: Balkan Wars; Wilhelm II. of Germany

1. What was the immediate cause of the First World War? Was this the *real* cause?
2. Why was this war so different from all earlier wars?
3. Ask your father to tell you his own recollections of the day war was declared, and write them down in his own words. Why should a shot fired in Serajevo affect *him*?
4. Begin to read a book about the First World War—e.g. *Days to Remember*, by Buchan and Newbolt (Nelson); Carey's *Short History of the Great War*.
5. Trace a map of Europe, and insert all the places mentioned, as you read them.

50. The First World War: in France and Flanders

1. Ask your father, or a relation or friend, to tell you some of his personal experiences "at the Front," and write down the story in his own words as nearly as you can.
2. Tell the story of one of the battles of the First World War.
3. The English fought on the Somme in 1915, and again five hundred years later. Show how different the conditions were for the soldiers.
4. Write notes on: "A Scrap of Paper"; "the Old Contemptibles"; Foch; the *Lusitania*; the Hindenburg Line; the Armistice.
5. Why do you think the Germans failed?
6. Read further in *Days to Remember*, by John Buchan and Henry Newbolt (Nelson); *Told in Gallant Deeds*, by Mrs. Lowndes (Nisbet).
7. Learn one of Rupert Brooke's 1914 sonnets.

51. The British Navy in the War: Jutland, 1916

1. Describe one of the following naval battles: Jutland, Coronel, Falkland Islands, or the Zeebrugge raid.
2. What is Britain's "first line of defence," and what was its work in the War?
3. Show how different the conditions of fighting were at Trafalgar and Jutland. Show that Britain was fighting against the same danger to herself in both cases.
4. Collect pictures to show development of ships through our history, personalities in the War, etc.

52. The Eastern Field of War : Gallipoli, Mesopotamia, Palestine

1. What was the object of the Gallipoli campaign ? Why did it fail ? Why will it be ever memorable ?
2. Write notes on : Anzac ; the *River Clyde* ; the death of Rupert Brooke ; General Allenby.
3. Try to find out something about Colonel Lawrence's work amongst the Arabs, and write a short account of what you have learned.
4. Tell any true story of striking heroism during the war by a soldier, sailor, airman, spy, nurse, or civilian.

53. The Troubled Peace

1. What happened to the four great European Empires after the First World War ?
2. What do you know of the League of Nations ?
3. From this chapter make a list of some of the chief events that occurred between the end of the First World War and the outbreak of the Second, and so show that this interval was but a "troubled peace."
4. Describe briefly the revolutions connected with the names of Mussolini, Hitler, Lenin and Stalin.
5. Give the meaning of : Fascist, Nazi, Soviet, Bolshevik, trade slump, tariff wall.

THE END

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